

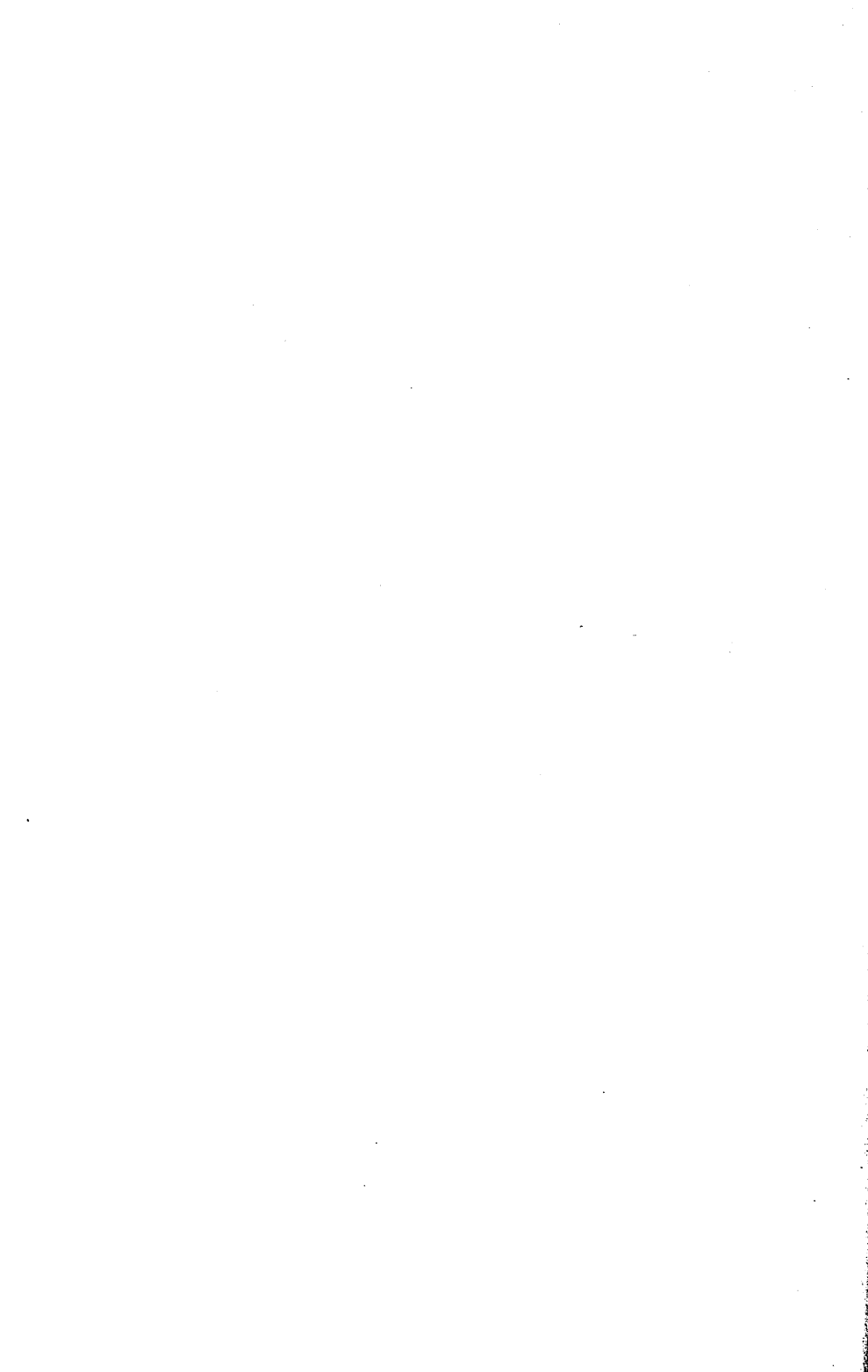
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**THE UNWRITTEN SAYINGS
OF JESUS**



The Unwritten Sayings of Jesus

By E. J. JENKINSON

'These are the wonderful sayings which Jesus, the living one, spake; and He spake them to Judas, who is called Thomas; and He said to him, "Whosoever heareth these sayings shall not taste of death."'

Oxy. Pap. 654, Introduction.

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TO MY MOTHER,
WHO FIRST TAUGHT ME TO LOVE
THE SAYINGS OF JESUS,
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

I HAVE to express my deep gratitude to my teacher and friend, Professor J. A. Findlay, M.A., for his advice, criticism, and active assistance in the framing of this book, and for his kindness in writing the preface.

I must also, in this place, express my indebtedness to Dr. Rendel Harris for criticism and for much of my Mohammedan material. The kindness I have thus received in no way removes from my shoulders the full responsibility for any errors which may be found herein.

If the publication of these 'Unwritten Sayings' should inspire in any heart a greater interest in the life and words of our Lord and Master, the writer will feel that his labours have not been in vain.

E. J. JENKINSON.

DIDSBURY COLLEGE,
MANCHESTER.



PREFACE

THOSE who have, or ever have had, the responsibility of helping students to prepare for the ministry in a theological college will appreciate the delight which a tutor feels in a man who, without any previous academic training, has, before he came to college, proved by years of tireless industry that he will take any amount of trouble to make himself acquainted with everything that even remotely has to do with the Jesus of history.

It need not be said how much delight a tutor, himself more at home in the first century than in the twentieth, finds working with a student who shows so much zest in raising all kinds of old stones on the chance of finding some precious fragment of the unsearchable riches of the Christ, as He was and is alive in Jesus.

Before the publication, a little while ago, of Dr. M. R. James's *Apocryphal New Testament*, I should have said without hesitation that Mr. Jenkinson's compilation was the most complete collection of the unwritten sayings of Jesus in English; even now, I think that we might

still call it the most representative, as it is certainly the most easily readable, collection of such sayings. For Mr. Jenkinson combines with his quite unusual industry and aptitude in the accumulation of somewhat out-of-the-way knowledge a very pretty gift of simple exposition; I can promise those who embark upon this book that they will find what my friend has to give them presented in a most attractive form.

J. A. FINDLAY.

DIDSBURY.

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The Unwritten Sayings of Jesus

I

WHERE THE SAYINGS COME FROM

i. *Introduction*

THIS book is concerned with the sayings of Jesus. By this we mean, not the familiar sayings found in the New Testament, but the neglected and almost forgotten words known as a rule only to the small circle of scholars interested in such matters.

Some people call them 'Lost Sayings,' but students refer to them as 'agrapha.' Properly all sayings which are of doubtful canonicity should be included in the agrapha, and so it happens that even in texts of the New Testament itself we shall be able to find a limited number. These are supported by only a few manuscripts, or perhaps by only one group of manuscripts. As a rule, however, we shall have to look outside the sacred books for our 'lost sayings.'

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ii. *The Oral Tradition*

When a great man says clever things to-day they are taken down in shorthand, and reproduced exactly by the reporters. It was very different in the time of Christ. Even if, as some scholars think, some such system was known to the Jews,¹ as a rule men remembered only the outlines of sermons, and, here and there, a memorable sentence. These were sometimes written down soon afterwards, but generally they would be repeated to others, who passed them on in turn. In the process the exact words would naturally in many cases be lost. Substantially, however, men would remember what had arrested their attention. Moreover people have better verbal memories in the East.

The more familiar sayings, written and oral, were incorporated in our Gospels by inspired editors, but there were many which from their subject-matter and context were quite unsuited to their purpose. We are hoping to suggest an answer in this work to the great question: 'What happened to those left over?'

¹ Cf. IV. Ezra xiv. 24. 'Do thou prepare for thyself many writing-tablets, and take with thee . . . these five because they are equipped for writing swiftly.' Cf. also *Oxy. Pap.* 724, where a citizen of Oxyrhynchus apprentices his slave to a shorthand writer to learn the art. This contract is dated A.D. 155. An actual specimen of such shorthand is found in a line of papyrus, now preserved at Leyden, dated 104 B.C.

Some of course are naturally lost for ever, but the remainder must have been written down somewhere. The question is: 'Where?'

iii. *Spurious Sayings*

We have all heard witty remarks attributed to great men. No one quite knows who originated the witticism, and it has gravitated to some great mind of the period from which it came. This has happened in all ages. Now a remark of great gravity and wisdom, found in the early days of Christianity, would naturally tend to be attributed to Jesus. But here men's judgement was often at fault. They saddled Jesus with sayings which we, in our more mature judgement, realize could not possibly have emanated from Him.

There have been in all ages cranks with a dogmatic axe to grind who have not hesitated to attribute to great people sayings in support of their pet notions. This tendency has been displayed most lavishly in the religious world. For instance, how many sayings have been invented for Mohammed! 'Verily the world is no otherwise than a tree unto me; when the traveller hath rested under its shade, he passeth

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on'; provides a pertinent example.¹ Or, again, we may cite the gibe attributed to Apollonius of Tyana when, it is said, the people were praying for the recovery of Nero from an illness: 'The gods are to be forgiven if they take pleasure in the company of buffoons and jesters.'

It is more than possible that the same thing happened in the case of Jesus. His name could be used as a make-weight for almost any far-fetched notion. It was only necessary to circulate the idea that a secret doctrine had been given to the disciples, and passed on by them, to capture the belief of the ignorant for the wildest agraphon. This was the favourite device of the Theosophists of the period—better known to scholars as the Gnostics. For this reason we should be very suspicious of Gnostic sayings.

In the days of Jesus no one had a Cruden's Concordance, or a dictionary of proverbial philosophy. Thus we may expect to find alleged sayings of the Master which are either from the Old Testament or from other books, plays, or poems. It will be seen what careful

¹ Other notable sayings attributed to the prophet are 'Thy friend hath a friend, and thy friend's friend hath a friend. Be silent,' and 'A secret between two is God's secret, and a secret between three is everyman's secret.'

discrimination the student of 'lost sayings' has to exercise in his selection of the genuine lost words of the Saviour.

iv. *Interpolations in Manuscripts*

Before the days of printing, all books were copied out by hand, and so were very scarce and costly. We are told, for instance, that Cicero sold a villa in order to buy a single manuscript. When the primitive churches, at great expense, purchased Gospel manuscripts, they naturally wanted them to be as complete as possible; so, when they heard of a new saying of the Master they wrote it in the margin of their copy of the Gospel. Churches having only one Gospel would have, written in the margin, sayings taken from other Gospels. The next copyist would be likely to incorporate the whole in the text. In this way some manuscripts of Matthew have fragments of Luke interpolated into their text.¹ Dr James Hope Moulton had an interesting theory regarding the saying:

1. Father! forgive them, for they know not what they do.

This is only found in certain manuscripts, with the result that some textual critics deny

¹ *From Egyptian Rubbish-heaps*, p. 102.

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that Luke ever wrote it. This might conceivably be so, and yet in spite of this possibility Dr. Moulton maintained them to be genuine words of Jesus. He imagined them to be spoken when His friends were still 'afar off.' No one would hear them save the centurion and his four men. They heard them whispered in faint words of utter agony. When the day was over, and the lifeless form hung upon the cross, this officer, having seen and heard all that had happened, said, 'Truly this man was the Son of God.' Surely this comment reveals his knowledge of the great word. In due course he would be drafted to some distant station, and there might wander into a Christian meeting and hear the story of the Crucifixion. 'Why, I know all about that,' he would declare, 'I was there.' Imagine the excitement and eager questioning, and the result—a new saying written in the margin of their Gospel.

Many people might be inclined to say at once, 'Then these words were preserved by a mere accident.' Christians, however, prefer to say, 'No! By the providence of God.' Our opinion is confirmed by the reading of that wonderful book *A Gentleman in Prison*. It is the biography of a Japanese murderer. He read the Gospels in prison, and saw in Christ

only an ideal man. Then he came to the words on the cross. As he did so he contrasted the event with a similar one in Japanese history when a poor peasant was crucified for protesting against the oppressions of a rich landlord.

This man died cursing the wretches who had so unjustly condemned him, whereas Jesus died forgiving His enemies.

The crucified Japanese was a good man in the murderer's eyes—a hero of heroes; but the One who forgave seemed no less than divine. These words of pardon, perhaps preserved so strangely, led to his conversion.

v. *The Papyri*

The classical Greek scholars of a past generation were always out of their element with the Greek in which the New Testament was written. It was different. Some explained the difference by saying it was the Greek of those who normally expressed themselves in Aramaic, and some by suggesting that it was the language of the Holy Ghost. The mystery of this difference is now cleared up, thanks to the evidence of the Papyri.

The earliest paper was made in Egypt from the papyrus reed, and the Elder Pliny tells
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us how it was done.¹ 'The pith of the stem was cut into long strips which were laid down vertically to form a lower or outer layer. Over this a second layer was then placed, the strips this time running horizontally. And then the two layers were fastened together, and pressed to form a single web or sheet, the process being assisted by a preparation of glue, moistened, where possible, with the turbid water of the Nile, which was supposed to add strength to it. After being dried in the sun the surface was carefully rubbed down with ivory or a smooth stone, and was then ready for writing. The side preferred for this purpose was, as a rule, the side on which the fibres lay horizontally, or the recto as it is technically called, but this did not prevent a frequent subsequent use of the verso, or back. Official documents, in particular, which were no longer required were frequently utilized for other purposes, the original writing being either crossed or washed out, as when we find a private letter written over an effaced notice of a death, or as when the verso of an old taxing-list serves a schoolmaster and his pupil for a writing lesson.'

¹ Milligan, *Greek Papyri*.

This papyrus was by no means cheap, and so very poor people used pieces of broken pottery for their correspondence.

Fortunately for us, papyrus is a very durable material when not much handled or exposed to the action of damp ; the result is that thousands of interesting documents have been unearthed from the dry sands of Egypt. These documents all display the peculiarities which, until their discovery, were considered to belong exclusively to the Greek New Testament. It was thus revealed that the New Testament writers, for the most part, employed the ordinary colloquial Greek of their day.

This, however, is not the whole of what we owe to our unearthing of the papyri. We have found a number of Gospel fragments, and two sheets containing sayings of Jesus.

vi. *Inscriptions*

Inscriptions on tombs, walls, drinking-vessels, and gateways are a valued source of information to the student of Bible times. Light on the mystical number of the beast in the book of Revelation, for example, is gleaned from wall scribblings from Pompeii of a date not later than A.D. 70. One of them reads, ' I love her

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whose number is 545.' The fact that these inscriptions are in Greek points to a solution of the Apocalyptic number being found in a Greek rather than a Hebrew name.

Drinking-cups have been found bearing the inscription round their rims, ' Friend, wherefore art thou come? Rejoice!' Dr. Deissmann argues from this that the Authorized Version is right in its translation of the words of our Lord addressed to Judas in the garden. This presents us with an interesting supposition. These are the very words of Jesus to the traitor. Did Christ actually make a last appeal to the better nature of the traitor in the very words inscribed on the Holy Grail? It is at least an interesting possibility. It would seem to indicate, also, that Jesus spoke Greek. Incidentally we notice that He may also have spoken Latin. An indication of this is seen in the Gospels, where a play upon words depends for its point on a knowledge of Latin.¹

More to our purpose, however, is a discovery made in 1849 by Dr. Alexander Duff, who in the course of a journey up the River Ganges visited the town of Futehpur-Sikri, about

¹ Mark ix. 50: ' Have *salt* in yourselves, and have *peace* one with another.' Latin ' sal ' and ' salem ' (accus.), ' salem ' being the Hebrew for peace.

twenty-four miles west of Agra. The town is in ruins, but has still remaining one imposing building. This is the Mohammedan mosque, which is one of the largest in the world. The principal gate is a superb structure standing a hundred and twenty feet high, and having a like breadth. On the inside of the gateway, to the right as one enters, Dr. Duff noticed an Arabic inscription in large characters, which to his amazement and joy turned out to be a saying of Jesus.¹

How did it come to be preserved in such a strange place? In a later chapter we shall discuss the question when we are dealing with the actual words of the Master.

vii. *Lost Gospels*

The opening verses of Luke's Gospel reveal to us another possibility in the way of sources for *agrapha*. 'Forasmuch,' he says, 'as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those things which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also . . . to write.'

¹ See David Smith's *Unwritten Sayings of Our Lord*.

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Assuming that the Fourth Gospel was written later than the Third, and that Matthew's Gospel was written earlier than Luke's, two other writers could hardly be called 'many.' It seems certain that even in Luke's time there were more or less incomplete Gospels other than our canonical books. We know this to be so, as a matter of fact, from the testimony of the early Fathers.

Certain fragments of lost Gospels have come down to our own day, and here and there in early writings we come upon quotations from those memoirs of Jesus. We must be very careful how we tread here, however, as many of the additional Gospels were 'made up' by heretics to support their own peculiar tenets.

viii. Commentaries and other Sources

Further sayings were incorporated in early Christian hymns, quoted in commentaries, or adduced as evidence of the faith by early apologists.

Others again passed into heathen literature, for example the *agrapha* preserved by the Mohammedans. Many of the Mohammedan words of the Saviour, however, are quite impossible. They have been ascribed to the Master

for want of a more exalted spokesman. Here again our watchword is caution. We must 'show ourselves tried bankers,' weighing each sentence carefully before we commit ourselves to its authenticity.

We have now some idea of the field in which our treasure of wisdom lies hidden, and, since no man ever spake as Jesus did, the gathering up of the fragments left over by the Gospels will be found to be a task infinitely worth our while.

II

SAYINGS IN THE CANONICAL GOSPELS

i. *The Lost Ending of Mark*

ONE of the most noteworthy things about the Canonical Gospels is that the conclusion of Mark's Gospel is missing. This would seem to indicate that we are fortunate in possessing this Gospel at all. It is interesting to observe that this book is very little quoted before it became part of the canon of Scripture, and it seems to have run a very serious risk of being forgotten altogether. The genuine text of Mark finishes at xvi. 8, in the middle of a sentence describing the terrified departure of the women from the empty tomb. There is no reason to doubt that the Gospel went on to narrate some of the appearances of Jesus to the disciples after the Resurrection. Thus Mark's story is incomplete as it stands, and it is much more likely that the mutilation was accidental rather than intentional. Had it been intentional the break would never have occurred

where it does. Most modern scholars account for this sudden breaking off of the Gospel, and explain satisfactorily the fact that all our manuscripts go back to the mutilated text, by suggesting that at one time no more than this single incomplete copy remained in existence. Some ancient manuscripts of the Armenian version ascribe the present ending found in our Bibles to Aristion, a primitive disciple of our Lord. Any sayings of Jesus, then, contained in these verses, not having come from the pen of John Mark, are of the nature of *agrapha*.

2. Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.

This contains in substance the words of Matt. xxviii. 19.

3. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.

In the Apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve*, published about A.D. 388, is found the following parallel to the first portion of this saying, 'Men shall be purified by water from their sins,' and other and closer references may be found in the Fathers. In one of the baptismal psalms of Ephraim Syrus, who, according to

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Asseman, was credited by the Syrians with twelve thousand songs, and by the Copts with fourteen thousand, we find the following : 'Greater is Baptism than Jordan, that little river—for that in streams of water and oil the misdeeds of all men are washed out. Elisha, by seven times washing, cleansed Naaman's leprosy : in Baptism are cleansed the secret misdeeds of the soul.' Again, in another place : 'To-day, lo ! your offences are blotted out, and your names are written down. The priest blots out in the water, and Christ writes down in heaven.'

The second clause one is glad to find only among the *agrapha* ; this leaves us free to decline to believe that it was ever uttered by our Lord. One feels that Jesus would not condemn the many who have never had the chance of hearing His words of grace ; and how could they hear without a preacher ?

4. And these signs shall follow them that believe : in My name shall they cast out devils ; they shall speak with new tongues, and they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them ; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.

The book of Acts records how Philip in Samaria and Paul at Philippi cast out demons in the name of Christ, and Pentecost records the coming of the gift of tongues. We hear also of Cornelius and his friends using this strange form of utterance, as also certain disciples at Ephesus.

Paul is related to have been bitten by a viper on the Island of Melita, and, casting it into the fire to have suffered no harm.

The next clause is peculiar as having no parallel in the New Testament. In sub-apostolic tradition, however, it is related how one Barsabas, called Justus, when put to the test by unbelievers, drank snake's poison in the name of Christ, and was preserved scathless. One authority for this statement is Papias, who was acquainted with personal followers of the Lord, and wrote, perhaps, not very long before the middle of the second century. He knew personally not only Aristion, but also a 'John the Presbyter' and the daughters of Philip the deacon. He is mainly notable for his five books of *Expositions on the Oracles of the Lord*, to which we shall refer later. The story concerning Barsabas is found also, more fully, in the writings of Philip of Side.

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To return to our main theme; the apostles, as is well known, received power to heal the sick from Jesus during His ministry, and gifts of healing are referred to both by St. Paul and St. James.

Apart from the familiar ending to Mark's Gospel, two other important endings are known to exist.¹ One of these is a short ending found in four valuable manuscripts dating from the seventh to the ninth century. This reads, 'But all that had been enjoined they reported concisely to Peter and his companions; and after these things Jesus Himself also appeared unto them, and from the East even to the West sent forth, through them, the sacred and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation.'

This conclusion, it is thought by scholars, originated in Alexandria.

The remaining important example is of more direct interest to us since it contains a lost saying. It is found in the fifth- or sixth-century manuscript known to students as the 'Freer Manuscript' (*Codex W*).

5. And they began to excuse themselves, saying, 'This age of lawlessness and unbelief

¹ For yet another Gospel Fragment which echoes the last twelve verses of St. Mark see M. R. James's *New Testament Apocrypha*, p. 31.

is under Satan, who by the agency of the unclean spirits suffereth not the true power of God to be apprehended. Therefore reveal forthwith Thy righteousness.' So said they to the Christ. And the Christ addressed them, saying, 'The limit of the years of Satan's authority is already completed; but there are at hand other dread things, even for those on behalf of whom in their sin I was delivered up to death, and in order that they might turn into the truth and no longer sin, that they might inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness which is in heaven.'

ii. The Woman taken in Adultery

We must next direct attention to the remarkable story, now contained in the Gospel of John, which tells how the Master dealt with a woman taken in her sin. On the face of it, one feels that this beautiful and eminently Christian narrative represents a genuine incident in the life of Christ. Nevertheless the evidence of the manuscripts is certainly hostile to its being an authentic portion of the Fourth Gospel. Many documents omit it entirely, and the commentaries of Cyril of Alexandria and Theodore of Mopsuestia pass it over in silence. Again, a number of Codices give the whole passage

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at the end of Luke xxi, that position being apparently suggested by comparing Luke xxi. 37 with John viii. 1.

We have also to note that the language is more Lucan than Johannine. The problem is complicated when we discover Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, saying that Papias 'has published also another relation of a woman accused of many sins before the Lord, which the *Gospel According to the Hebrews* contains.' A suggestion has been made by some scholars that Luke published two editions of his Gospel, and two of Acts, and that this story was in one edition only. To explain the other question which arises, we might suggest that Luke, if the passage in John is really to be attributed to the 'beloved physician,' drew from the same source of information—perhaps oral—from which the writer of the *Gospel According to the Hebrews* gleaned his version.

But how did the passage come to creep into John? one asks in amazement. Again we can only hazard a more or less probable conjecture. Eusebius says that Papias 'also transfers to his own work other accounts, by the aforesaid Aristion, of the Lord's discourses, and the traditions of the "Elder John."' It would

naturally follow, then, that when he repeated any of the Elder John's traditions he must have mentioned him by name, or Eusebius would not have known whence they were derived. Now it is possible that Papias, in telling the story of the woman taken in adultery, said it was related by John, meaning the Elder; that some one else supposed him to mean the apostle, and added it to his own copy of the Fourth Gospel: perhaps in the place where we now find it, or possibly as an appendix at the end of the Gospel, from which it may have been transferred by the next copyist. This is all that it seems necessary to say regarding the passage, which may be considered as a wandering star in the firmament of Scripture. We pass on to consider the text itself.

6. And they went each to his own house, and Jesus went to the Mount of Olives; and at dawn He came into the temple, and all the people came to Him, and having sat down He taught them.

And the Scribes and the Pharisees bring a woman taken up for adultery,¹ and having placed her in the midst, they said to Him, 'Teacher, this woman hath been taken up in

¹ Codex D reads 'a woman taken for sin.'

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adultery in the very act, and in the law Moses commanded us to stone such¹; but what dost Thou say now?'

And this they said trying Him, that they may have whereby to accuse Him.

But Jesus, having bent down, kept drawing with His finger upon the ground; but as they continued asking Him, He unbent and said to them, 'Let the sinless one of you first cast against her the stone.' And having bent down again, He continued drawing upon the ground. But they, having heard, went out one by one, beginning from the elder ones, and Jesus was left alone, and the woman in the midst; and Jesus, having unbent, said to her, 'Madam,* where are they? Hath no man condemned thee?' And she said, 'None, sir.' And Jesus said, 'Neither do I condemn thee: go and from this time no longer sin.'

We have already pointed out that in some manuscripts the above story is introduced at the end of Luke xxi. It usually occurs between verses 36 and 37, but a more likely context would seem to be between 37 and 38.

Hitzig would find room for it between Mark

¹ Codex D.

* Madam. Literally 'Woman.' A term of courtesy used by John, as for example in the story of the changing of the water into wine. 'What is that to me and to thee, Madam?' The word is used, apart from the above, twice by Luke and once by Matthew.

xii. 17 and xii. 18, that is, between the question of the Herodians and that of the Sadducees ; but this appears unlikely in view of Matt. xxii. 23, according to which the Sadducees came to Him the ' same day ' as the Herodians. Nicholson points out that it might be put after Matt. xxii. if that chapter did not end with the statement that ' neither durst any man from that day forth ask Him any more questions.' The same scholar, however, indicates that one more possibility is open to us. This is to make it come in between Matt. xxi. and xxii.—in other words, between the parables of the wicked husbandmen and the wedding-feast—more especially since we are told in Mark xii. 12 that after the former parable ' they left Him and went their way.' It would then come before the questions of the Herodians, Sadducees, and Pharisees ; immediately after which we find, from Mark xii. 35 and xii. 41, that He was ' teaching in the temple,' and that He ' sat over against the treasury.'

It is in favour of the Lucan authorship of the passage in front of us that the Greek word used for ' came at dawn ' is not used in the New Testament at all, except by the writer of the Third Gospel and Acts. Compare the passages

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Luke xxi. 38, 'And all the people came at dawn to Him in the temple, to hear Him,' and Acts v. 21, 'they entered into the temple toward the dawn and taught.' It is noticeable that Jesus habitually taught sitting down. This was the practice of all the Jewish rabbis.

It does not seem likely that they had any thought of really stoning the woman, since it is improbable that the Roman governor would give his consent to the capital punishment in such a case. The object of their attack was not the woman, but Jesus. They wanted to put Him on the horns of a dilemma. If He answered, 'Stone her,' they could accuse Him to Pilate as encouraging disobedience to his authority; if, on the contrary, He said, 'Let her go free,' they were in a position to accuse Him to the people as advising violation of the law. Truly a ruse worthy of those masters of sophistry.

The punishment by stoning is described in the Talmud.¹ The criminal was thrown down from an erection twice the height of a man by one of the two chief witnesses. If he was killed by the fall the actual stoning was omitted; but if not, he was turned on his back, when the

¹ Talmud, Sanhed. vi. 4.

other chief witnesses dashed a stone on to his breast. If this did not accomplish the purpose, the rest of the bystanders stoned him to death. For a parallel to the phrase 'cast a stone,' compare 1 Macc. ii. 36, 'nor did they cast a stone.' In view of what has been said above, this reference might suggest that the phrase was proverbial, meaning 'to take hostile action against'; in the present case that would imply reporting the woman to the authorities.

iii. The Parable of the Lowest Seat

In ancient days it was the custom to place the salt in the middle of the table. The host sat at the head of the table with his honoured guests placed above the salt. The inferior people and servants sat below. It will be remembered how King Arthur avoided the difficulty of implying the inferiority of one knight to another. He used the celebrated round table, the salt being placed in the centre.

One is not very much surprised to find Christ telling such a homely parable. It was out of such simple material that He wove the rich fabric of His ethical and spiritual teaching.

This parable is of interest to us here for two reasons. It has acquired the habit of wandering,

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like the story which was the subject of the last paragraph, and in the process has attracted to itself a really new saying of Jesus.

The story originally appears in Luke xiv. 7-11, and seems to illustrate the sayings in Eccles. xxxii. 9, 'If thou be among great men, make not thyself equal with them,' and xiii. 9-10, 'If thou be invited of a mighty man, withdraw thyself, and so much the more will he invite thee; press not upon him, lest thou be put back, but stand not too far off, lest thou be forgotten.'

An interesting parallel is to be found in the Talmud, where we are informed that Rabbi Akiba said, 'Go two or three seats lower than the place that belongs to thee, and sit there till they say to thee, "Go higher up"; but do not take the uppermost seat lest they say unto thee "Come down"; for it is better that they should say unto thee, "Go up, go up," than that they should say, "Come down, come down."' It would seem on the face of it that the Rabbi was indebted to Jesus for his parable, since he lived in the second century. He possibly gleaned his information through the Syriac version of the Gospels, since he was born in Syria. He was the principal teacher in

school at Jaffa, and was executed by the Romans in A.D. 135 for his participation in the revolt of the false Messiah Bar-Cochba. He is believed to have written the Mishna of Rabbi Eliezer.

The Gospel of Barnabas, which we shall discuss fully in the next chapter, has a curious addition to the parable of Luke. In section 35b it continues the story in these words :

7. Truly I say unto you that Satan became not reprobate for other sin than his pride.

It goes on to say that the first man and his wife wept a hundred years without ceasing because they had fallen through pride.

Canon Cureton, in his *Remains of a Very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac*, cites a variant of the parable under discussion from a document of the fifth century. The same occurs in the celebrated Codex Bezae. In both cases it follows Matt. xx. 28.

Codex Bezae seems to have had a remarkable career. It is one of the oldest manuscripts of the New Testament in existence, and has the text in Latin and Greek in parallel columns. It perhaps belongs to the fifth century. We have good reason to believe that it was the

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'very ancient Greek manuscript' produced by William à Prato, Bishop of Clermont, at the Council of Trent in 1546. When his end was served, the Bishop would return it to the monks of St. Irenaeus at Lyons, from whom he borrowed it. In 1562 Lyons was sacked by the Huguenot Army, and the church and monastery of St. Irenaeus were looted in the process. It can hardly be doubted that some one who shared in the plunder of the abbey conveyed the valuable Codex to Beza, who was then serving as Chaplain and Counsellor to the Huguenot Army.

Beza presented the MS. to the University of Cambridge, in whose public library the open volume is conspicuous to visitors.

The parable, according to Codex Bezae (usually referred to as D), runs as follows:

8. But ye, seek ye that from little things ye may increase, and not from greater things become less; but also, when having been invited, ye go in to sup, sit not down in the prominent places, lest a more honourable than thou should come in, and he that invited to the supper should come forward and say to thee, 'Withdraw still lower,' and thou shouldest be put to shame. But if thou

shouldest go and sit down in the lower place and one inferior to thee should come in, he that invited thee to the supper shall say to thee, 'Draw together still higher,' and this shall be to thee profitable.'

'Draw together still higher' is a lifelike touch. What is really new here is the saying, 'Seek ye that from little things ye may become great, and not from great things become little.'

iv. The Parable of the Stater in the Fish's Mouth

Marcion, a heretic of the second century, remains one of the most interesting characters of the Early Church. He was the pioneer Nonconformist in the annals of the history of the Church. His doctrine, while it was tinged with Theosophical ideas, was yet not a mere Gospel version of his own, and also had the advantage of being a complete 'plan of salvation.' A clever and daring thinker, he profoundly influenced the Christian thought of his time. The son of a wealthy shipowner of Sinope, in Pontus, he came to Rome, and tried to influence the Roman Church to adopt his peculiar views. Soon after, coming under

¹ Syriac reads, 'Thou also shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests.'

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the influence of the Gnostic teacher Cerdo, he renounced the orthodox doctrine and began to teach his own system. He held that the Gospel was something entirely new, the absolute antithesis of the old Jewish order. He set aside the Old Testament, and proclaimed that it was Christ's special task to undo the work of the inferior Deity of the Jews. The distinctive teaching of Marcion originated in a comparison of the Old Testament with the Gospel, and the theology of the Apostle Paul. In the Gospel he found a God revealed who is goodness and love, and asks for faith and love in men. This God he could not discover in the Old Testament ; on the contrary, he saw there the revelations of a just, stern, jealous, wrathful, and variable God, who requires from His servants blind obedience, fear, and outward righteousness. This was, on the face of it, not quite fair to the Old Testament ; but then we must charitably remember that he had not the advantage, possessed by the modern thinker, in his conception of the evolution of God-consciousness in men. As Dr. Harris has said, 'He was unfortunate in being born before Darwin.' The old Revelation was to him all of a piece. He developed a series of contradictions setting the Old Testament against the

New, most of which are exceedingly clever. One which occurs to the writer at random is, 'Moses stood with his arms outstretched all day in order that the enemies of God might be overthrown; Christ hung with His arms outstretched that the enemies of God might be forgiven.'

He proceeded to argue that the Just God made the earth, and, matter being essentially evil, those with whom He peopled it went astray. He then consigned them to Hades as a punishment. The Good God of the New Testament now interfered, and sent His Son to investigate. He came to earth a Stranger God, and by His death paid the price of sin to the Just God, and redeemed the victims of evil matter. The declaration of faith of the Marcionites seems to have been, 'The Good Stranger—with a price He bought us from the Lord of Creation.'

This apparent wandering from our subject was necessary in view of a curious saying attributed to Jesus by an eleventh-century manuscript—the Codex Algerina Peckover. Moreover, the same reading occurs in the Arabic Diatessaron, which is a harmony of the four Gospels. The reading in both manuscripts

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must obviously be traced back to a common original, now well known to scholars.

The first harmonist of the Church was named Tatian, a Christian apologist born in Mesopotamia, early in the second century, probably of Syrian parents. He travelled widely, learning and teaching, but, coming to Rome, he met Justin the Martyr, and embraced Christianity. It is still an open question as to whether his harmony was based on the Old Syriac Version of the four Gospels, or preceded them. That they were closely related seems certain. The further question is now being discussed as to whether the Diatessaron was written in Latin first or in Syriac, or whether both versions were circulated simultaneously. Our agraphon comes from Tatian, for which we have further evidence in the commentary upon the Diatessaron written by Ephraim Syrus.

Having thus prepared the ground, let us turn to the study of the saying. Matt. xvii. 25, 26, 27, forms its basis.

The Arabic Diatessaron (Codex 713, e.v.v.) reads :

9. Simon said to Him, 'From strangers?' Jesus said unto him, 'Therefore the sons are free.' Simon said unto him, 'Yea.' Jesus

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said unto him, 'Give thou also to them as if a stranger, and lest it should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook.'

The Codex Algerina Peckover is similar: 'Are the children free?' Peter says, 'Yea.' 'Then do thou also give as being a stranger unto them.'

Here are clear indications of a Marcionite reading which has been thrust into the narrative, for the underlying idea seems undoubtedly to be that the apostles were children of the Stranger God of Marcion. Indeed, Ephraim the Syrian, in his commentary, seems to realize as much, since he gives a peculiar twist to the passage in question. 'Go to the sea,' is his version, 'and cast in a net; since they think I am a stranger, the sea will teach them that I am not only a priest but a king. Go, therefore, and you also give as one of the strangers.'

There remains the interesting question as to the real meaning of the puzzling story in Matt. xvii. We note, in passing, the parallel to 'The sons are free' in John viii. 35.

With regard to the incident of the stater in the fish's mouth, we remark that the Evangelist does not actually relate to us the performing

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of a miracle, and this is unusual with him. Let us then consider the circumstances of the case.

Jesus and His disciples had just arrived at Capernaum, had dispersed, and gone to their own homes. Jesus as usual lodged in Peter's house, and on their way there the disciple was called away on business. The annual tax levied upon all over twenty years old for the maintenance of the temple was due. Jesus, of course, was liable to the tax, and had paid every year hitherto, but from the time of John the Baptist's death He had been travelling far afield, with only one short visit to Capernaum in between. The tax had really been due in March,¹ and it was now about August. (Note that the Feast of Tabernacles, to which He went after a short stay at Capernaum, fell at the beginning of October.) The collectors evidently regarded Jesus with such awe that, instead of asking Him directly for the money, they preferred to approach Him through Peter. It was a catastrophe, since travelling expenses would seem to have eaten up all the funds, and Peter would be overcome with embarrassment and dismay. Jesus, however, laughs at him merrily,

¹ See David Smith, *In the Days of His Flesh*.

and makes at once a practical suggestion and a typical fisherman's joke. Stories have been current in all ages of treasure found in fish, and so by His pleasantry He recalls to the disciple the fact that his profession was a way out of the difficulty. Peter would see the point, catch a fish and sell it, and thus raise the required stater.

We have dealt at length with this story in order to illustrate the way in which many spurious sayings of Jesus have arisen. It is also a gain to have had the opportunity of introducing to our readers the heretic Marcion.

v. The Man who worked on the Sabbath Day

The controversies of Jesus with the religious leaders of His time on the subject of Sabbath-keeping are well represented in our Gospels. In the sixth chapter of Luke there are two descriptions of such encounters. The first was occasioned by the action of the disciples in plucking ears of corn and rubbing them between their hands. This was counted by the Pharisees to be threshing, and so to be a violation of the law. They were ever straining out 'a gnat' and swallowing 'a camel.' The second discussion arose over the curing of a man with a

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withered hand in the synagogue on another Sabbath.

Codex Bezae, which we described in a previous paragraph, inserts between these two stories a third. This is quite in the style of St. Luke, and has, moreover, the ring of genuineness :

10. On the same day He beheld one at work on the Sabbath, and said to him, ' Man ! If thou knowest what thou art doing, blessed art thou ; but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed, and a transgressor of the law.'

While it must be conceded that our Lord vigorously defended Himself against petty criticisms with regard to the keeping of the Sabbath, and, moreover, studiously avoided the thousand and one rabbinic rules for its observance ; yet one feels sure that He would not approve of a deliberate breaking of God's real laws. Such was the case with regard to the Sabbath. A real wilful disobedience to Scripture could not fail to be a sin in His eyes.

This ' unwritten ' saying shows us clearly His point of view. If the man were acting without knowledge of the law, then he was blessed, since God does not punish for what is done in ignorance ; on the other hand, if he were willingly

contravening a known law, and so defying God, he was indeed culpable.

God judges by knowledge and by motives, and on this basis only does He bless or condemn.

It is noticeable here that Jesus lives up to His own saying, 'Judge not, that ye be not judged.' Rather He so appeals to the man that he is compelled to judge himself, and act accordingly. 'For God sent not the Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world should be saved through Him' (John iii. 17). He was to assume the rôle of Judge only at the time of His second coming.

The explanation of the seeming contradiction between this agraphon and the preceding and following Lucan verses lies in Matt. v. 17: 'Think not that I came to destroy the law and the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.' The legal requirements of the Pharisees, however, were in His eyes by no means obligatory. He rested in the Scriptures alone, and what was added thereto had in His eyes no value.

vi. A Number of Minor Interpolations in MSS.

Following John vi. 56, 'He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood abideth in Me and I in him,' Codex Bezae reads :

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11. As the Father is in Me, and I in the Father ; Truly, Truly, I tell you, he that does not receive the body of the Son of Man as the bread of life has no life in him.

Another minor addition occurs after John xvii. 11 in the same MS. :

12. I am no longer in the world, and in the world I am.

There seems to have been a slip in the Latin text of Codex Bezae here which has been carried over to the Greek. Perhaps we should read, ' I am no longer in the world, and they are in the world.'

In Luke xxii. 26-27 occurs a new saying derived from the same source :

13. You have grown in My service to be like the servant.

That is, the suffering servant of Isa. liii. That is, you have grown Christlike. It is indisputable that our Lord saw Himself in this prophetic passage.

The Palestinian Syriac version of the Gospels has the following interpolation :

14. Every word that a man shall not speak, he shall give an account thereof in the day of Judgement.

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This appears to be the complementary saying to Matt. xii. 36. Gregory of Nyssa (*de Orat. Dom.* iii.) makes an addition to Luke xi. 2:

15. Let Thy holy spirit come upon us, and cleanse us.¹

Again we find in some MSS. an addition to Acts xv. 20, which is also common in early Christian writers. It is found in two forms, the second of which should be compared with Tobit iv. 5.

16. Everything that they would wish not to be done to them, not to do to others.

17. That which thou hatest, thou shalt not do to another.²

The *Zend-Avesta*—the Persian Scriptures—has a similar saying: ‘Do as you would be done by.’

It is interesting actually to find a saying of Jesus in the received text of the Acts of the Apostles. Acts xx. 35 reads:

18. It is more blessed to give than to receive.

We must also include among the *agrapha* a number of readings which have crept into our

¹ This was also read by Marcion.

² This saying is ascribed also to Hillel.

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printed Bibles, but are omitted by the R.V. Such is Matt. xvii. 21 :

19. Howbeit this kind goeth not out save by prayer (and fasting).

Professor James Hope Moulton considered the appearance of this verse in Mark ix. 29 to be a late interpolation from Matthew, and even there it has been added to the text. Many MSS. only omit 'and fasting,' which seems to be the most doubtful portion of all ; but even with this additional clause added the text was quoted as early as Tertullian (A.D. 160 to 230).

In like case is Mark ix. 49, where the second half only is spurious :

20. For every one shall be salted with fire (and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt).

In Luke ix. 55-56 the evidence is slightly in favour of the inclusion of the verses, hence it is questionable whether this passage should be counted as an *agraphon*.

21. Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of ; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.

III

THE ROMANCE OF 'GNOSTIC BARNABAS'

i. *The First Stage*

TRUTH, we are told, is stranger than fiction ; and this remark has much justification, in view of the subject now before us, for the adventures of the Gnostic Gospel of Barnabas are unrivalled in literary history. There is a legend extant to the effect that, when the relics of St. Barnabas were discovered in Cyprus in the fifth century, a copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew was found lying on his breast, written by his own hand. This definitely associates the fellow-traveller of St. Paul with a Gospel. That he may have copied out the work attributed to St. Matthew for his own use seems by no means improbable ; but when they are told that his literary labours did not end here, scholars are inclined to be sceptical.

His alleged productions are so vastly different, both in style and outlook, that it really seems

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safest to credit him with none of them. Over and above what is perhaps a spurious epistle ascribed to him, he has been presented with the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and last but not least with a Gospel of his own. His association with St. Paul, and his appearance in an early list of the seventy apostles,¹ would seem to supply a sufficient reason for the use of his name in connexion with spurious works. It would appear that in some book going under the name of Irenaeus, now lost, there was mention of a Gnostic Gospel professing to be from the pen of Barnabas, and this is again referred to in the so-called 'Gelasian Decree' in its index of prohibited and heretical books. One small fragment of this old forgery remains to us, and is cited by Grabe.*

'Barnabas the apostle said, "In the evil conflicts, he who has conquered is more subject to temptation in the struggle with evil, since it comes to pass the more from his holding off sin."'

While this interesting specimen of early psychology is quite in the style of the extant Gospel, it is not discoverable in its pages. This

¹ Hippolytus, 'List of Seventy Apostles,' Codex Baroccion 206.

* Spicilegium (Ex Codex Baroccion 39).

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is somewhat damping to one's ardour at first sight, but an explanation is by no means difficult to find. Re-editings and re-castings of a work play sore havoc with its contents ; this may have been the case in the present instance.

ii. The Dramatic Re-appearance of the Lost Gospel

The next stage in the romance was revealed by the learned Dr. Sale in the preface ' To the Reader ' of his edition of the Koran. Here he describes a Spanish version of the Gospel, and translates for the benefit of his readers a portion of its introduction. The front proclaimed that the version was translated from the Italian by an Arragonian Moslem named Mostafa de Aranda.

In the preface we are introduced to the discoverer of the original MS., who was a Christian monk, Fra Marina by name. He tells us that, ' having accidentally met with a writing of Irenaeus (among others) wherein he speaks against St. Paul, alleging for his authority the Gospel of St. Barnabas, he became exceeding desirous of finding the Gospel ; and that God of His mercy having made him very intimate with

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Pope Sixtus V, one day, as they were together in that Pope's library, his Holiness fell asleep, and he, to employ himself, reaching down a book to read, the first he laid his hand on proved to be the very Gospel he wanted. Overjoyed at the discovery, he scrupled not to hide his prize in his sleeve ; and, on the Pope's awakening, took leave of him, carrying with him that celestial treasure, by reading of which he became a convert to Mohammedanism.'

The editors of the English edition of Barnabas¹ refer us to a certain 'Maestro Marino dell' ordine di S. Francesco,' who was responsible for an index of prohibited books published in 1549, and it is tempting to see in this friar, so well acquainted with prohibited works, the hero of our story.

iii. *Later History of the Gospel*

The present Italian manuscript was acquired in Amsterdam by J. F. Cramer,² who had it out of the library of a person of great name and authority in that city, who during his life was often heard to put a high value on the piece, 'whether as a rarity, or as a model of his religion,

¹ Gospel of Barnabas, Preface, Lonsdale and Ragg.

² Toland's *Naxarenius*, chap. v.

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I know not.' It was lent by Cramer to John Toland in 1709. This may have been the very copy so adroitly stolen by Fra Marino between the years 1585-9. Four years after acquiring his treasure, Cramer presented his prize to Prince Eugene of Savoy; and eventually it found its way, in 1738, in company with the rest of that Prince's library, into the Hofbibliothek at Vienna, where it now reposes.

The Spanish translation was lent to Dr. Sale by Dr. Holme, the Rector of Hedley, in Hampshire. It passed subsequently into the hands of Dr. Thomas Monkhouse, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, by whom both the text and a translation were communicated to Dr. White, the Bampton Lecturer, in 1784. Since then this manuscript has unfortunately disappeared from view, and the most urgent inquiries and diligent searches after it have been in vain.

It is possible to account for the present form of the work by suggesting that the original Gnostic Barnabas was used as a quarry in the expansion of a Latin version of the Diatessaron. This version of Tatian's work is judged by some scholars from internal evidence to have been the work of one well acquainted with the Vulgate. Then in the first half of the fourteenth century

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it would seem that the already mutilated and expanded work fell into the hands of a Christian renegade priest turned Moslem, who further interpolated and revised the text. The above theory would seem to allow for most of the evidence, internal and external, at present available, though more definite views may result from a closer study of the work by competent literary critics.

iv. *The Parables of 'Barnabas'*

One unique feature of this Gospel is its Apocryphal parables. It is worthy of note how strangely this form of teaching seems to have been neglected by the followers of the Lord. Among Apocryphal works Barnabas stands alone in this regard, and one is bound to admit that some of these narratives are of great beauty. One would like to attribute these stories to the lost Gnostic Gospel; but this would be to trespass into regions where speculation might prove indiscreet.

22. *Neighbour and Creditor.*¹—There was a man who gave money to his neighbours that they might trade with it, and the profit should be divided in a just proportion. And some

¹ Cf. Luke xix. 13 et seq.

traded well, so that they doubled the money. But some used the money in the service of the enemy of him who gave them the money, speaking evil of him. Tell me now, when the neighbour shall call the debtors to account, how shall the matter go? Assuredly he will reward those who traded well, but against the others his anger shall vent itself in reproaches. And then will he punish them according to the law. As God liveth, in whose presence my soul standeth, the neighbour is God, who has given to man all that he hath, with life itself, so that man, living well in this world, God may have praise, and man the glory of paradise. For those who live well double their money by their example, because sinners, seeing their example, are converted to repentance; wherefore men who live well shall be rewarded with a great reward. But wicked sinners, who by their sins halve what God has given them, by their lives spent in the service of Satan the enemy of God, blaspheming God and giving offence to others—tell me, what shall be their punishment? 'It shall be without measure,' said the disciples.

23. *The Shopkeeper*.—Said Jesus, 'He who would live well should take example from the merchant who locketh up his shop, and guardeth it day and night with great diligence. And selling again the things which he buyeth

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he is fain to make a profit ; for if he perceiveth that he will lose thereby he will not sell, no, not to his own brother. Thus then ye should do, for in truth your soul is a merchant, and the body is the shop ; wherefore what it receiveth from outside, through the senses, is bought and sold by it. And the money is love. See then that with your love ye do not sell nor buy the smallest thought by which ye cannot profit. But let thought, speech, and work be all for love of God ; for so shall ye find safety in that day.'

24. *The King's Ungrateful Son-in-law.*¹—I will speak to you by a parable that ye may understand. There was a king who found by the wayside a man stripped by thieves, who had wounded him unto death. And he had compassion on him, and commanded his slaves to bear that man to the city and tend him ; and this they did with all diligence. And the king conceived a great love for the sick man, so that he gave him his own daughter in marriage, and made him his heir. Now assuredly this king was most merciful ; but the man beat the slaves, despised the medicines, abused his wife, spake evil of the king and caused his vassals to rebel against him. And when the king required any service, he was

¹ Compare with Luke x. 30 et seq. and also with story of Ahikar.

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wont to say, 'What will the king give me as reward?' Now when the king heard this, what did he do to so impious a man? They all replied: 'Woe to him, for the king deprived him of all, and cruelly punished him.' Then said Jesus: 'O priests, and scribes, and Pharisees, and thou high-priest that hearest my voice, I proclaim to you what God hath said to you by His prophet Isaiah: "I have nourished slaves, and exalted them, and they have despised me."'

25. *The Bad Paymaster.*—There was a man who paid ill, wherefore none that knew him would go to till his fields. Whereupon he, like a wicked man, said: 'I will go to the market-place to find idle ones who are doing nothing, and will therefore come to till my vines.' This man went forth from his house, and found many strangers who were standing in idleness, and had no money. To them he spake and led them to his vineyard; but verily none that knew him, and had work for his hands, went thither.

He is Satan, that one who payeth ill; for he giveth labour, and man receiveth for it the eternal fires, in his service. Wherefore he hath gone from paradise, and goeth in search of labourers. Assuredly he setteth to his

¹ Isa. i. 2.

² Cf. Matt. xx. 3 et seq.

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labours those who stand in idleness whosoever they be, but much more those who know him not. It is not in any wise enough for any one to know evil in order to escape it, but it behoveth to work at good in order to overcome it.

26. *The Three Vineyards.*—There was a man who had three vineyards, which he let out to three husbandmen. Because the first knew not how to cultivate the vineyard, the vineyard brought forth only leaves. The second taught the third how the vines ought to be cultivated ; and he most excellently hearkened to his words ; and he cultivated his, as he told him, insomuch that the vineyard of the third bore much. But the second left his vineyard uncultivated, spending his time solely in talking. When the time was come for paying the rent to the lord of the vineyard, the first said, ‘ Lord, I know not how thy vineyard ought to be cultivated, therefore I have not received any fruit this year.’

The Lord answered, ‘ O fool, dost thou dwell alone in the world, that thou hast not asked counsel of my second vinedresser, who knoweth well how to cultivate the land ? Certain it is that thou shalt pay me.’

And having said this he condemned him to work in prison until he should pay his lord ;

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who, moved with pity at his simplicity, liberated him, saying, 'Begone, for I will not that thou work longer at my vineyard; it is enough for thee that I give thee thy debt.'

The second came, to whom the Lord said, 'Welcome, my vinedresser! Where are the fruits that thou owest me? Assuredly, since thou knowest well how to prune the vines, the vineyard that I let out to thee must needs have borne much fruit.'

The second answered, 'O Lord, thy vineyard is backward because I have not pruned the wood nor worked up the soil; but the vineyard has not borne fruit, so I cannot pay thee.'

Whereupon the Lord called the third, and with wonder said, 'Thou said'st to me that this man, to whom I let out the second vineyard, taught thee perfectly to cultivate the vineyard which I let out to thee. How, then, can it be that the vineyard I let out to him should not have borne fruit, seeing it is all one soil?'

The third answered, 'Lord, the vines are not cultivated by talking only, but he needs must sweat a shirt every day who willeth to make it bring forth its fruit. And how shall thy vineyard of thy vinedresser bear fruit, O Lord, if he doth naught but waste the time in talking? Sure it is, O Lord, that if he had put into practice his own words, (while) I who cannot talk so much have given thee the

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rent of two years, he would have given thee the rent of the vineyard for five years.'

The Lord was wrath, and said to the vine-dresser, 'And so thou hast wrought a great work in not cutting away the wood and levelling the vineyard, wherefore there is owing to thee a great reward.' And having called his servants he had him beaten without mercy. And then he put him into prison under the keeping of a cruel servant, who beat him every day, and never was willing to set him free for prayers of his friends.

27. The Fruitful Plant in Barren Soil.—There was a man who had great possessions, and in his territory he had desert land that only bore unfruitful things. And so, as he was walking out one day through such desert land, he found among such unfruitful plants a plant that had delicate fruits. Whereupon this man said, 'Now, how doth this plant here bear these so delicate fruits? Assuredly I will not that it be cut down and put on the fire with the rest.' And having called his servants he made them dig it up, and set it in his garden. Even so I tell you that our God shall reserve from the flames of hell those who work righteousness, wheresoever they be.

These examples will serve the reader as specimens of the kind of material to be found

in Barnabas. The standard is far below that of the Canonical Gospels, but is perhaps the best we could expect from an uninspired writer. The parables cited above at least serve to demonstrate how inadequate are men's best efforts to imitate Christ's characteristic modes of teaching. In the making of parables He stands, and perhaps will ever stand, pre-eminently alone. These very superior efforts of the heretical writer of Barnabas indirectly condemn those critics who would discount St. Luke's third source. When we compare the best of these with the ' Good Samaritan,' ' The Rich Fool,' and ' The Great Feast,' we feel that these last, whatever their immediate derivation may have been, have their ultimate origin in the discourses of our Lord Himself.

IV

LOST GOSPELS

i. *Sources*

As we indicated in our opening chapter, a flood of light has been cast upon New Testament times by the unearthing of the Papyri. Not only have a number of early canonical texts come to light, but we have also gained access to a number of fragments of new Gospels. The ruined city of Oxyrhynchus, on the Nile, has proved to be a veritable 'cave of treasures' in this regard. From here we not only gain the majority of the Gospel fragments, but, more significantly, two sheets of Gospel material—a number of unconnected sayings of Jesus in the form in which the oral tradition was first committed to writing.

Moreover, the discovery of about one-third of the Epistle to the Hebrews, copied out on the back of a roll, the recto of which contains a new Epitome of Livy, is full of promise. This

indicates that we may yet discover some new Gospel more or less complete. The prospect is at least hopeful.

Apart from the Papyri, we shall find the writings of the Church Fathers a rich vein of material, containing many a fragment of long-forgotten Gospels. The quality of the material is mixed; for while, here and there, we may find genuine sayings of our Lord, much of this material is either of very doubtful value or is undoubtedly spurious. Even here, however, instruction being denied us, we may yet look for entertainment. The fragments are interesting, and in this respect at least may perhaps reward us for our trouble.

The Gospels of the Infancy¹ need not concern us here, since they are fairly well known, and are easily accessible to those who are interested. We may, however, mention in passing an interesting Coptic Fragment.* Its attraction lies in the fact that it touches on Gethsemane. In it Jesus uses the words 'The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak,' with reference to Himself, and not to the disciples. While this is supported by the Roman Missal and Breviary (see the

¹ See Appendix C.

* This is given in full in Mr. M. R. James's *New Testament Apocrypha*.
EJ

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Office for Palm Sunday), yet all we can really say about it is that, while Christ could, with perfect propriety, have applied this to Himself, since He was perfect man, yet the attestation is hardly strong enough for us to prefer this reading to that of the Canon.

ii. *The Anti-Christ Fragment*

The subject of Anti-Christ has always roused curiosity. One smiles to-day, perhaps, at Wesley's pointed remark on the man of sin in his notes on 2 Thess. 'The man of sin—eminently so called, is not yet come. However, the Pope has an indisputable claim to these titles.' Few to-day, one thinks, would consider this a fair exegesis of the passage in question. Whatever Paul did mean, it appears quite certain that he was not referring to the Pope.

Early Christian thought appears to have been more interested in the appearance than in the identity of this unholy personage. This appears from a number of references, all apparently based on the description of the foolish shepherd in Zechariah xi. 17b: 'His arm shall be utterly withered, and his right eye utterly blinded.' This provided a fair foundation for much interesting conjecture. One MS. alone claims

for the description the authority of Jesus, and informs us that our Lord gave the information to St. Matthew. The account given in a fourteenth-century MS. domiciled at Cambridge is typical :

28. His appearance will be, a tall thin man, with thin feet, having long hair, and a long face, and a long nose, with cat's eyes . . . in the lower parts . . . having lost one tooth, the upper marked with leprosy, having a white part in the hair on his forehead. These his marks will be unchangeable, but in the others he will be able to change himself.

Similar in nature is the example found in the *Testament of Our Lord*, a church manual, attributed by its authors to Clement of Rome :

29. Concerning the son of perdition He saith, And these the signs of him : his head is as a fiery flame, his right eye shot with blood, his left (eye) blue-black, and the left one hath two pupils. His eyelashes are white, and his lower lip is large, but his right thigh slender, his feet broad, his great toe is bruised and flat. This is the sickle of desolation.

At any rate it seems that there will be no difficulty about recognizing the monster—when he comes.

A last touch of the grotesque is added by the

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Apocryphal Apocalypse of John, which tells us that Anti-Christ will have the legs of a cock.¹

The association of Christ and St. Matthew with these weird flights of imagination would seem to hint at a lost Gospel somewhere in the background. It can well remain there.²

iii. *The Gospel According to the Egyptians*

This work was apparently circulated among the native Christians of Alexandria in the first half of the third century. Judging from the fragments which survive, we do not need the Fathers to tell us that the work was heretical. It has the doubtful privilege of being the first heretical Gospel from which quotations are fairly numerous. Very soon after the rise of Christianity there came over the Western World a great wave of ascetic teaching from the East. If we can venture to trace a very obscure history, we might suggest that the movement came from India. In such a hot country very little food was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of life ; and there were some who made it their glory to use as little as possible. Moreover, these mortifiers of the flesh, whose

¹ Cf. Appendix A.

² Cf. Appendix B.

austerities sometimes included more than mere abstinence from food, have ever compassed land and sea to make one proselyte, and it is certain that these severe holy men became troublesome to the Christian Church in the first years of its existence. Scarcely had Paul fought his battle against the yoke of circumcision, when he had to face new opponents whose cry was 'Touch not ; taste not ; handle not' ; 'who forbade to marry, and commanded to abstain from meats.' In spite of all Paul could do or say, their spirit has cast its shadow over the whole history of Christendom. It has ranged from Saturninus, the Gnostic, who was opposed by Irenaeus, to St. Simon Stylites, who lived for thirty years on the top of a pillar ; and still has its manifestation in the penance of Rome and in the asceticism of the Greek Church. It seems certain that the whole tendency was pagan in origin and ideal, contrary to the outlook of the Jesus of history, a substitution of a false basis for the due appraisal of religious values, and an inferior conception of the life demanded of men by both the words and deeds of Christ. Of the whole movement we may use a trenchant comment of Harnack's, applied by him to a different context, yet singularly appropriate here : 'It was to destroy this sort of religion

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that Jesus Christ suffered Himself to be nailed to a cross.' The sacrifice He demands of His followers is of another nature, and after a different fashion. It is opposite both in spirit and in intention. The contrast presented by the two view-points is characteristic of the ultimate outlook of Buddhism on the one hand and true Christianity on the other.

It was in attacking this Encratism that Clement of Alexandria quoted the majority of the extant fragments of the Egyptian Gospel.

We have here collected the most certain portions of this lost work, and have attempted a reconstruction. The worst dislocation occurs in a portion given as a whole in Clement of Alexandria. The style of the work appears to have been crude and jerky.

30. Salome said, 'How long shall death prevail?' and He said, 'As long as ye women bring forth.' And she said, 'Then I did well in not having children?' and He said, 'Eat every herb, and eat not that which hath bitterness.' And again, when Salome asked when the things about which she inquired should be known, and when His Kingdom should come, He answered, 'When ye trample underfoot the garment of shame, and when the two shall become one, and the outside as

the inside, and the male with the female, neither male nor female. Let him who is married not put away, and let him who is unmarried marry not. I come to destroy the works of the female. Keep the flesh pure and the seal unspotted. Reserve ye the flesh that ye may become partakers of the spirit. If ye do these things the Kingdom of my Father shall come. They are my brethren who do the will of my Father. Continually my name is blasphemed among all nations. And why is my name blasphemed? Blasphemed, in what? In not doing the things which I wish. I come to gather all nations and kindreds and tongues.'

We note in the above a number of points of contact with other literature. To the question as to when the Kingdom should come the Rabbins used to say that the time would be accomplished if the people repented but for a single day. The idea of trampling on the garment of shame finds its parallel in the mystery religions of the period. One work¹ speaks of the necessity of 'tearing off the tunic, which you are wearing, the robe of ignorance.'

The Talmud would seem to have known this Gospel, or one similar, judging by the following sayings attributed by it to Jesus :

¹ Cf. *Corp. Hermet.*

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31. Son and daughter shall inherit together.

32. I, the Gospel, am not come to do away with the law of Moses, but to add to the law of Moses I am come. It is written in the law of Moses, 'Where there is a son the daughter shall not inherit.'¹

Paul, in Gal. iii. 28, says that there shall be 'neither male nor female.' We might infer from this fact, since Paul often quotes *agrapha*, that a genuine saying of our Lord lies behind these diverse references about male and female. Compare the canonical saying about there being neither marriage nor giving in marriage in the Kingdom. The association here of Paul, Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, and the Talmud, especially citation 31, would appear to be conclusive.

'They are My brethren who do the will of My Father' is of course genuine, having its parallels in the Canonical Gospels. It is found in both Clement of Rome and in Epiphanius (who adds 'and mother').

The use of the word 'gathering' in the sense of this Gospel is seen in many places. Thus the Talmud has :

¹ Talmud, Shabbath, 116a and 116b.

33. . . . Thus Jesus of Nazareth taught me¹: 'Of the hire of an harlot hath she gathered them, and unto the hire of an harlot shall they return' (Mic. i. 7). 'From offal it has come; to the place of offal shall it go.'

A curious quotation from Epiphanius from what he calls the 'Gospel of Eve' shows a similar usage²:

34. I stood upon a high mountain, and saw a tall man, and another, a short man, and I heard as it were the voice of thunder³ and drew near to hearken, and he spake to me and said, 'I am thou, and thou art I, and where-soever thou art, there am I, and I am dispersed among all things, and whence thou wilt thou canst gather me, and in gathering me thou gatherest thyself.'

A parallel on an altogether higher level is the beautiful sacramental prayer in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*: 'As this broken bread was scattered (in corn grains) upon the mountains, and being brought together became one, so let Thy Church be *gathered* together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom, for Thine is the

¹ Talmud, Aboda Zara, 16b and 17a.

² *Epip. Her.* 26.

³ Cf. Hebrew doctrine of the Bath Kol—the daughter of the Voice—i.e. thunder,

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glory and the power by Christ Jesus for ever.’¹

Closely associated with the remains of the *Gospel According to the Egyptians* is a tattered fragment from Oxyrhynchus²:

35. (Take no thought) from morning until even, nor from evening until morning, either for your food, what ye shall eat, or for your raiment, what ye shall put on. Ye are far better than the lilies which grow but spin not. Having one garment what do ye (lack)? Who could add to your stature? He Himself will give you your garment. His disciples say unto Him, ‘When wilt Thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see Thee?’ He said, ‘When ye shall be stripped, and not be ashamed——’ He said, ‘The key of knowledge ye hid, ye entered not in yourselves, and to them that were entering in ye opened not.’

‘When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed’ is interesting and suggestive when we compare it with the Egyptian saying about trampling on the garment of shame. Note also how here the context is semi-canonical; this is an indirect confirmation of authenticity. Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, and this saying from the rubbish-heaps, all concur

¹ *Didache* 9.

² *Oxy. Pap.* 655.

to point in this direction. It would seem to indicate that a genuine saying of our Lord lies somewhere in the background. But it is disappointing that the Papyrus breaks off in the middle of a sentence. Did it run originally, 'When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed, trampling underfoot the garment of shame'? We are brought to a standstill until fresh light comes to us from the Ancient East. The lost word is there, tantalizing us—and just beyond our reach.

iv. *The Fayum Gospel Fragment*

We have now to examine a tiny portion of a Gospel discovered at Fayum, the style of which is so concise, brief, and energetic that it reads like the record of an eyewitness. This appears to be from a Gospel neither heretical nor false, but may, perhaps, even be one of those early attempts to which St. Luke refers in his preface to the Third Gospel. It is quite a new contribution to Biblical study, since it is not quoted by any of the Fathers. Its general relationship to Matthew and Mark is clearly visible.

Of course, with so small a fragment one cannot be quite definite. It is possible that it may be a portion of a sermon or homily. The

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omission of the hymn and of the promise of Jesus to go before the disciples into Galilee is certainly strange. One could account for this by supposing it to be a relic of a Gnostic recension of the Canonical Gospels issuing from Egypt. This would then account for the omission of the Paschal psalm, which, as connected with the Old Testament, would be distasteful to the Gnostic mind; while Galilee would be erased as involving a literal resurrection of the flesh. With such scanty evidence before us, however, it is perhaps as well not to dogmatize.

36. Now, after eating, as they marched out; 'You shall all be offended this night, according to the Scripture. I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.' Peter said, 'Though all, yet not I.' He said to him, 'The cock shall crow' twice, and thou shalt previously deny Me thrice.'

The use of the peculiar word for 'crow' here introduces a new difficulty into Biblical interpretation. It could hardly be used otherwise than for the cry of a bird. The Mishna Baba Kamma informs us that 'it was forbidden to keep fowls in Jerusalem.' Taking this as a true representation of the fact, we are only able to understand

Not the usual word; literally 'cry cuckoo.'

our Lord's allusion in the light of the knowledge that among the Jews 'Cock-crow' was the name for the temple bugle which announced the dawn. Yet to speak of a trumpet 'crying cuckoo' would be absurd. Is the introduction of this word an indication of the secondary nature of our fragment ?¹

v. *The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*

Modern critical opinion inclines to the belief that the 'Gospel According to the Hebrews' was a generic term used by early Christian writers to cover a number of works of Jewish-Christian origin. One of these works appears to have been a 'falsified and mutilated' edition of Matthew² known indifferently as the 'Gospel According to the Ebionites' and the 'Gospel of the Twelve Apostles.' The Ebionites were a sect flourishing in the first two or three centuries, who perhaps derived their name from 'ebion,' meaning 'poor.' It would appear to be uncertain whether this name was assumed by them as affecting to be poor, like the Founder of Christianity, or whether it was conferred on

¹ For the view that the residence of Annas was outside the city of David, see Smith, *In the Days of His Flesh*, p. 464. On the other side, Wade, *New Testament History*, should be consulted, p. 459. Cf. also Lightfoot for Rabbinic citations.

² *Epip. ; Haer.*

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them by way of reproach, as being of the lower orders. They were tenacious of the Mosaic ceremonies, though they admitted the Messiahship of Jesus in a very low and Judaizing manner. They appear to have held in execration the doctrine of St. Paul, and to have been the offspring of a Judaism misunderstood and of a Christianity imperfectly received. That they had Gnostic tendencies would seem to be certain, as also that they held Jesus to have had a normal birth. They seem to have maintained that Christ descended on Jesus at the Baptism and quitted Him before His Crucifixion. The fragments of this Gospel we have collected from the writings of Epiphanius.

37. There was a certain man, by name Jesus, and He was of about thirty years, who chose us out. And when He had come to Capharnaum He entered into the house of Simon, who was surnamed Peter, and opened His mouth and said, 'Passing by the lake of Tiberias I chose out John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon, and Andrew—and Thaddaeus, and Simon the Zealot, and Judas the Iscariot ; and thee, Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, I called, and thou didst follow Me. I will therefore that ye be twelve Apostles for a testimony to Israel.'

38. And (in those days) John began baptizing (a baptism of repentance in the Jordan river) and there came out to him Pharisees and were baptized, and all Jerusalem. And John had raiment of camel's hair¹ and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his food (was) wild honey whereof the taste was of the manna, like a cake (made) with oil.

Saying 38 is of interest in that it suppresses all mention of 'locusts.' The reference in the Canonical Gospels would seem to be to the insect, and not to the carob bean. Epiphanius tells us plainly that the Ebionites kept from animal food; a diet of locusts would therefore be impossible to a holy man. He says that they tampered with a work called the *Journeys of Peter*, and represented Peter as 'keeping from living things and meats, like themselves also, and from every other food made from flesh, since Ebion himself and the Ebionites keep from these also.' This quotation shows that Epiphanius imagined the sect to be founded by one Ebion; this, however, seems to have been pure conjecture.

Of interest at this point is another ascetic mode of ruling out the locusts. Several early

¹ Codex D in Mark i. 6 reads 'A camel's skin.'

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heretics emended the word in the true Gospel so as to read 'parsnips.'

The Septuagint version of Num. xi. 8 seems to lie behind the last words of our section—and the pleasure of it was, as it were, in taste 'a cake (made) of oil.' The Hebrew text here is uncertain, and the Jerusalem Targum, and some other ancient authorities, read 'cakes (made) of honey.' The obvious meaning one would attach to the expression wild honey would be to suppose it meant the honey made by wild bees. This is frequently used by people in the East, and in the Usumbara Protectorate of East Africa the natives suspend round beehives of bark from the trees for the use of the wild bees. These they periodically rob of their honey, and the present writer witnessed one native upset such a hive. He covered the distance from the scene of disaster to the Pangani river in record time, and jumped in headlong. The bees were a good second in the race. There have not, however, been wanting those who preferred another interpretation, and who explained the words as meaning that exudation from the leaves of trees and shrubs, so common in Oriental countries, which was gathered and used as we use butter or

honey, and which is called by the Arabs 'manna.' A passage from Diodorus Siculus, who wrote about 8 B.C., seems to imply this use of the phrase: 'And they use for food flesh and milk, and the provisions afforded by what grows from the earth; for the pepper grows among them from the trees, and much honey, the same that is called wild honey, which they use for a drink with water.' Suidas (A.D. 1100) in his Lexicon writes: 'Locust. A kind of tiny animal. The Forerunner also ate locusts and wild honey, which is gathered together from the trees and is commonly called "manna."' The same identification of 'wild honey' with this vegetable product is made by Dioscorides and Pliny. The fact that this explanation is by no means obvious may seem to point to its being the true one, for it would hardly have been brought forward at all without good reason; a very much easier explanation lay to hand.

39. When the people had been baptized, Jesus also came, and was baptized by John, and as he went up the heavens opened, and He saw the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove descending and entering into Him. And a voice out of heaven saying, 'This is My beloved Son; in Thee am I well pleased';
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and again, 'I have this day begotten thee.' And straightway a great light shone around the place. And when John saw it he saith unto Him, 'Who art Thou?' And again a voice out of heaven unto him, 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' Then John fell down before Him and said, 'I pray Thee, Lord, baptize Thou me.' But he prevented him, saying, 'Let be ; for thus it is becoming that all things should be fulfilled.'

The mention of the great light seen at the baptism is well supported by ancient authorities. Apart from a number of MSS. having this reading in Matt. iii. 15, it is recorded by Justin Martyr in his 'Dialogue with Trypho.' The 'Preaching of Peter' also related that 'when He was baptized fire was seen upon the water.' Again, fire is mentioned in the Seventh Sibylline Book, 'with holy waters sprinkling Thy baptism, through which Thou wast manifested by fire.' There can be little doubt that Juvenius alludes to it in his account : 'The presence of God is manifest in splendour,' while the Syriac liturgy of Severus (early sixth century) says, 'Without fire, and without wood, did the waters glow when the Son of God came to be baptized in Jordan.' The tradition may possibly have

Or 'Preaching of Paul.' Authorities differ here.

arisen from the words of the Baptist, that the coming Messiah would baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire, or it may have been due to the realistic embodiment of the idea that at the baptism the glory of the Son of God, the Light of the World, was made manifest.

40. Enough for the disciple to be as the master.¹

41. 'Behold Thy mother and Thy brethren stand without.' . . . 'Who is My mother and brethren?' And He stretched out His hand over the disciples, and said, 'These are My brethren and mother, that do the wishes of My Father.'

The so-called Second Epistle of Clement seems to hold a place midway between this rendering and that of the Canon. It reads, 'My brethren are these, that do the will of My Father.'

42. 'Where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee the passover to eat?' . . . 'Have I desired with desire to eat this flesh, the passover, with you?'

Here the tendency to condemn the eating of flesh again appears. They have apparently

¹ Matt. x. 25.

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introduced 'this flesh' and turned a statement into a question.¹

43. Unless ye cease from sacrificing, the wrath shall not cease from you.

The citation in Epiphanius which precedes these words says, 'And they say that He both came, and (as their so-called Gospel has it) instructed them that He had come to dissolve the sacrifices.' Then follows our saying. Nevertheless there appears to be no valid reason why this should not be a genuine word of Jesus.

vi. *The Gospel of the Nazarenes*

This Gospel is frequently referred to by Jerome. Who the Nazarenes were is not quite clear. Jerome himself tells us that he received his copy from people associated with the Syrian town of Beroea, and in agreement with this Epiphanius states that the sect was found among the Beroeans in Coele-Syria. Epiphanius also declares that there were Nazarenes much farther south, in the neighbourhood of Pella. They seem to have been catholic in their leanings, accepting the teaching of St. Paul, but still

¹ Cf. Luke xxii. 15.

conforming to the Jewish Law. They do not, however, seem to have considered that this was necessary to salvation for others. The relation between their Gospel and Canonical Matthew would seem to have been remarkably close. Schmidtke's theory of the origin of this Gospel would seem to account for the facts of the case. He conjectures that in early days Canonical Matthew was a favourite among these people, and that in public worship it was orally translated into Aramaic by the preacher, who supplemented it by details from Luke and other sources. In this expanded and altered form it at length came to be written down. The present writer would, however, substitute the Matthew oral tradition for the Gospel. But in these things certainty is impossible, and we must rest content with the most probable conjecture.

44. Bethlehem of Judah.

Jerome in his commentary on Matthew says of Matt. ii. 5, 'Here is a mistake of the copyists. For we think the Evangelist originally gave, as we read in the actual Hebrew, "of Judah—not of Judaea."' The Aramaic Gospel is here supported by the Curetonian Syriac and some Old Latin and Vulgate MSS. of Matthew.

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45. Out of Egypt have I called my son.

This agrees with the Hebrew text of the Old Testament as against the Seventy.

46. That he shall be called Nazarene.

The reference here seems to be to the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zechariah respecting the 'Branch.' The Hebrew word used is *Nétser* (Isa. xi. 1), and apparently in this the Evangelist saw a foreshadowing of the residence at Nazara. The Hebrews attached great importance and saw mystical meanings in the mere sounds of words; hence we need not be surprised at the Evangelist seeing a prophetic fitness in the association of these two words. The one referred to the Coming One, and the other to His home.

47. Behold the mother of the Master and His brethren said to Him, 'John the Baptist baptizeth for remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him.' But He said to them, 'Wherein have I sinned that I should go and be baptized of him? except perchance the very thing that I have said is ignorance.'

Mr. A. F. Findlay, in his *Byways of Early Christian Literature*, has a very apposite note on the above. 'When His mother and brethren

suggested that they should go as a family to Jordan, He showed reluctance. There is real insight here ; whatever eventually led Jesus to go, we must regard it as true that He went only after deep searching of heart. It was a baptism for the remission of sins, and His conscience was pure. " Wherein have I sinned that I should go and be baptized by him ? " Yet in the end Jesus went. Why ? The answer is suggested in the somewhat enigmatical words of the Gospel, " Unless perchance that which I have just said is ignorance."¹ I suggest an explanation,' continues Mr. Findlay, ' which is essentially that given above as the true reason for Christ's submission to baptism. In answer to His mother's and His brethren's proposal to go to the Jordan to be baptized, Jesus virtually said, " I have no sins to confess ; I need no baptism ; I will not go." But on reflection He added, " Perhaps I have spoken in ignorance ; baptism may have a meaning for me, although I have no sins to cleanse away." And because it dawned on Jesus' soul that baptism had a meaning for Him, sinless though He was, He went and was baptized.' For another example of Christ's limited knowledge compare Mark

¹ In the Hymn of Severus of Antioch for the Epiphany, Christ is described as ' He that lacketh not as one that lacketh.'

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xiii. 32, ' But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, only the Father.'

Jerome tells us that ' In the " Gospel . . . according to the Hebrews " he is set down among the greatest criminals who has grieved the spirit of his brother.' This phrase covers a saying which seems undoubtedly to have come from our Nazarene work. Similar in nature is the following :

48. And be ye never joyful save when ye have looked upon your brother in love.

The rendering of our Gospel varied in the Lord's Prayer in one interesting particular, since it read: '(Our bread) of the morrow (give us to-day).' This is illustrated by the Rabbinic writings. Rabbi Jehoshua said, ' So that a man should gather on the day for the morrow, as on Sabbath eve for Sabbath.' Rabbi El-ha-Moda'i said, ' So that a man should not gather on the day for the morrow, as on Sabbath eve for Sabbath ; for it is said, " matter of a day in its day." ' The reference here is to the manna in the wilderness, which was gathered in the morning to supply the needs of the oncoming day. Dr. Lightfoot would so translate the Greek of ' Our daily bread ' in Matthew vi. 11 as

to express ' provide to-morrow's bread and give it us to-day, that we be not solicitous for the morrow.'

49. I will choose Me the good, those good whom My Father in the heavens hath given Me.

This fragment is taken from the Syriac Version of the *Theophania* of Eusebius, who uses it to illustrate the cause of the divisions of soul which came to pass in houses. For this purpose one cannot help thinking Luke xii. 51-53 and parallels would have suited his purpose better.

The Gospel continues :

50. I was a mason, seeking sustenance by my hands ; I beseech thee, Jesus, that Thou restore me health, that I may not shamefully beg for food.

The detail that the man with the withered hand was a stonemason may well be a genuine tradition.

51. He saith, ' If thy brother hath sinned in word and hath made thee amends, seven times in a day receive him.' Simon, His disciple, said unto Him, ' Seven times in a day ? ' The Lord answered and said unto him, ' I tell thee also, unto seventy times seven : for in the

prophets likewise after that they were anointed by the Holy Spirit, utterance of sin was found.'

52. The other of the rich men said to Him, 'Master, what good thing shall I do and live?' He said unto him, 'Man, perform the law and the prophets.' He answered Him, 'I have performed them,' and He said unto him, 'Go, sell all that thou hast, and divide it to the poor, and come, follow Me.' But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him, 'How sayest thou, "I have performed the law and the prophets," seeing that it is written in the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and behold many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clad with dirt, dying of hunger, and thy house is full of much goods, and there goeth out therefrom nothing at all unto them?' And He turned and said to Simon, His disciple, sitting by Him, 'Simon, son of John, it is easier for a camel to enter through the eye of a needle than a rich man into the Kingdom of the heavens.'

The three Synoptic Gospels mention only one rich man; indeed, only one man—rich or poor—as asking a question of Jesus at this time. Hilgenfeld ingeniously conjectures that the entire passage ran somewhat in this fashion: 'And behold there came to Him two rich men.

The one said, "Good master." But He said, "Call Me not good; for He that is good is one, the Father in the heavens." Then would follow our fragment.

'A camel through a needle's eye' was a proverbial expression, rendering all such evasions as a 'needle's-eye gate' beside the mark. We should notice that Luke uses the proper word for a surgeon's operating-needle. We find the same expression in the Koran, where the prophet says, 'The gates of heaven shall not be opened unto them, neither shall they enter into Paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle, and thus will we reward evildoers.' Jewish writers also supply a sufficient commentary. Rabbi Shesheth answered Rabbi Amram, who had advanced an absurdity, 'Perhaps thou art one of the Pam-biditheans, who can make an elephant pass through the eye of a needle.' Compare also the Jewish proverbs 'A camel in Media dances in a Kabe' (i.e. a measure holding about three pints) and 'No man sees a palm-tree of gold, nor an elephant passing through the eye of a needle.' An Egyptian proverb says, 'Straiter than the eye of a needle,' and another runs, 'Narrower than the shadow of a lance, and than the hole of a needle.'

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This same Nazarene Gospel appears to have contained a new version of Matthew's parable of the talents. It included three servants, one of whom devoured his substance with harlots and flute women,¹ one of whom multiplied, and one which hid the talent. One was accepted, one only blamed, and one shut up in prison. The Talmud supplies us with a third version of this story.² 'A certain king gave a deposit to three of his servants; the first kept it; the second lost it; the third spoiled one part of it, and gave the rest to another to keep. After some time the king came and demanded the deposit. Him who had preserved it the king praised, and made him the governor of his house. Him who had lost it he delivered to utter destruction, so that both his name and his possessions were blotted out. To the third, who had spoiled a part, and given the rest to another to keep, the king said, 'Keep him, and let him not go out of my house, till we see what the other will do to whom he hath entrusted a part: if he shall make a proper use of it this man shall be restored to liberty; if not he also shall be punished.'

¹ For phrase 'harlots and flute women,' cf. *Oxy. Pap.* 840.

² *Sohar Chadash*, fol. 47.

Our Gospel would also seem to have described Barabbas as 'The son of a master of them who had been condemned on account of sedition and murder.' This would appear to be an ancient and trustworthy tradition, since in Matt. xxvii. 16-17, five cursive MSS., and the Jerusalem Syriac and Armenian versions have the reading 'Jesus Barabbas' instead of 'Barabbas.' Again, in twenty-one MSS. is found a marginal note to the same effect, variously ascribed to Chrysostom and Anastasius of Sinai (sixth century). Origen, in his Commentary on Matthew, would also seem to imply that in his time this was the reading of most MSS. Deissmann argues from the evidence of inscriptions that Jesus soon became a sacred name among the Early Christians, who not only in some cases erased the name from monuments, but also soon ceased to christen their sons by this name—until then a very popular one among the Jews. If then this was so, the association of such a sacred name with a Zealot leader would be distasteful, and they would emend their Gospels accordingly. Barabbas is, of course, not a proper name at all, but a corruption of Bar Abba, 'son of a father.' Illustrations of this abound in the Talmud, as, Rabbi Nathan Barabba, Rabbi Samuel Barabba, &c. The

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Jews used the word 'abba' as a term of spiritual reverence, as the Catholics use the term 'Father.' The son of a Rabbi would then be called 'Bar Abba,' 'Son of the Father.' All the evidence goes to show, then, that our Barabbas was really one Jesus, a son of a rabbi, or father, or, as the Nazarene Gospel puts it, 'the son of a master of them.' Incidentally he was not a robber at all in our sense of the word, but a revolutionary leader—a Zealot.

Yet another detail of our Gospel which stands alone is the statement that the lintel of the temple, of immense size, was broken and fell down. Mr. H. G. Wells, in his *Outline of History*, discussing the Crucifixion says, 'It was inevitable that simple believers should have tried to enhance the stark terrors of this tragedy by foolish stories of physical disturbances similar to those which had been invented to emphasize the conversion of Gautama. We are told that a great darkness fell upon the earth, and that the veil of the temple was rent in twain ; but if indeed these things occurred, they produced not the slightest effect upon the minds of people in Jerusalem at that time.' With all due respect to Mr. Wells, this last is simply not true, for it so happens that in the Talmud there is singular

story of how, about forty years before the fall of Jerusalem (that is, about the time of the Crucifixion), the doors of the temple opened of their own accord ; this involves a premonition of coming catastrophe.

Here, then, we have three distinct accounts of three distinct events : in the Canon the veil of the temple is rent ; in the Gospel of the Nazarenes the lintel of the temple falls crashing down in ruin ; and in the Talmud the doors are wrenched open. What adequate cause can be adduced for such an effect—short of an earthquake ?

53. And when the Lord had given His linen cloth to the servant of the priest, He went to James and appeared unto him. For James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour wherein he had drunk the cup of the Lord until he saw Him rising again from the dead . . . ' Bring a table and bread ' . . . He took up the bread, and blest, and broke, and afterward gave to James the Just, and said to him, ' My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from them that sleep.'

An appearance to James, the Lord's brother, is recounted by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 7. Writing in the latter part of the sixth century, Gregory of Tours, in his *Liber Historiae sive*

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Annalium Francorum, says, ' James the apostle is said, when he had seen the Lord now dead on the cross, to have called to witness, and sworn, that he would never eat bread unless he beheld the Lord rising again. At last, on the third day, the Lord, returning with triumph from the spoil of Tartarus, showing Himself to James, said, " Rise, James, eat, for now I am risen from the dead." This is James the Just, whom they style the brother of the Lord, because he was the son of Joseph, born of another wife.' Equally interesting is a similar tradition to be found in the *Historiae Apostolicae* of Pseudo Abdias. This is a sixth-century work, but it preserves material at least as early as the fourth century. The unknown author makes James the brother of Simon the Cananean, and ' Judas of James.' Of these three brothers he says, ' James, the younger, was at all times specially dear to Christ the Saviour, and burnt with so great a yearning toward his Master in return, that when He was crucified he would not take food before that he saw Him rising from the dead, which he minded to have been foretold to him and his brethren by Christ when He was still among the living. Wherefore He chose to appear to him first of all, as also to Mary of Magdala and Peter, that He might

strengthen His disciple in faith; and, that He might not bear long hunger, when a honeycomb was offered Him,¹ he invited James likewise to eat it.' Jacobus de Voragine, in his *Legenda Aurea* (sixth century), also tells the story. 'And on Preparation-day,' he writes, 'after the Lord was dead, as saith Josephus (he probably means the second-century writer Hegesippus) and Jerome in the book *Of Illustrious Men*, James vowed a vow that he would not eat until he saw the Lord to have risen from the dead. But on the very day of the Resurrection, when up to that day James had not tasted food, the Lord appeared to the same James,* and said to them that were with him, "Set a table and bread"; then taking the bread, he blessed and gave to James the Just, saying, "Rise, my brother, eat; for the Son of Man is risen from the dead."'

One notes in our Gospel that it was *the*—not *a*—servant of the priest; so presumably we are dealing with the one who helped to seize

¹ For light on the reference to a honeycomb here, see the fifth-century *Story of Joseph and Asenath*. The archangel Michael visits the heroine Asenath, and gives her to eat of a miraculous honeycomb, and then says that she has now eaten the bread of life and drunk the cup of immortality.

* Compare also the note of Sedulius Scotus (A.D. 800) on 1 Cor. xv. 7, where he says, 'The son of Alphaeus, who took witness that he would not eat bread from the Supper of the Lord until he saw Christ rising again,' as is read in the *Gospel According to the Hebrews*.

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Jesus, and had his ear cut off by Peter. We are compelled to guess the immediate context of our new event. Had this servant been entrusted with the setting of the watch over the tomb, and so been a witness to the Resurrection?

The evidence for an appearance to James seems to be conclusive; but when we probe deeper a curious tangle emerges. The servant of the high-priest is called Malchus by the Fourth Evangelist. As we have seen from our fragment, he is represented as receiving the linen cloth used by Joseph of Arimathaea to bind our Lord's body. Now an unknown young man is stated in Mark's Gospel to have entered the garden clad only in a linen cloth cast about him, and, when he fled, to have left it in the hands of those who would have detained him. The association of a 'linen cloth' with this unknown, as well as with the high-priest's servant; the presence of the same servant in the garden at the time of the arrest; the general suggestion in Mark's Gospel—else why was the incident introduced at all?—that the young man was John Mark himself; and lastly, St. John's otherwise unsupported statement that the servant was called Malchus; all these details would seem to indicate that the traditions had got mixed up somewhere.

Malchus is very like Marcus, and confusion here is likely. Was John here mistaken, and the young man who fled half-dressed into the night Marcus, the writer of the Second Gospel? It is true that on this theory the high-priest's servant remains anonymous. But was he really of sufficient importance to be remembered by name at all? The two being associated with incidents involving linen cloths would alone suffice to mix up the two traditions. The identification of the young man with Mark would in this way be strengthened, and would ensure his having been at least an eyewitness to the tragic culmination of our Lord's ministry.

54. And, when He came to those about Peter, He said to them, ' Take, feel Me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon ' ; and straight-way they touched Him and believed.

This saying is found in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrneans, who presumably copied it from our Gospel.

vii. *The Alexandrian Gospel of the Hebrews*

The third version of the Hebrew Gospel we shall have to consider is disappointing, in that only two certain fragments survive. Probably at first written in Aramaic for the use of Jewish

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Christians in Syria, it was translated into Greek at Alexandria. It was not considered by Clement of Alexandria and Origen to be a heretical writing, but was held by both in high esteem.

The first quotation we shall examine describes an incident apparently connected with the temptation of Jesus. The saying is also recorded three times by Jerome as occurring in the Gospel of the Nazarenes.

55. 'Just now, my mother, the Holy Spirit, took me by one of my hairs and carried me away to the great mountain Tabor.'

Strange as this must sound in modern ears, it would not appear so to its first readers. After all, it is merely an exaggeration of an Old Testament way of expressing rapture by the Holy Spirit. In Ezek. viii. 3, for example, we read, 'And he put forth the form of a hand, and took me by a lock of my head; and the Spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem.'¹ Mr. A. F. Findlay sees in the apparently fantastic detail of the single hair a delicate suggestion that no compulsion was

¹ Compare also *Bel and the Dragon*, verse 36.

put on Jesus when He was borne to the scene of the Temptation. In the words of Meyer, 'He followed the flight of the Spirit willingly—so that only a quite gentle leading by a single hair was necessary.'

Epiphanius tells us that he knew many who associated Tabor with the hill of temptation; and Adeney, writing in the *Hibbert Journal*, says that this was 'the kind of reference that would come to a writer at a distance, to whom Tabor was merely a Bible mountain, known to him by the Scripture passages concerning it.'

The allusion to the Holy Spirit as the mother of Jesus is perhaps surprising. It is noteworthy, however, that the Syriac-speaking Christians made the Holy Spirit feminine. This is seen in the *Acts of Thomas*, where the Holy Spirit is the Divine Mother, and Aphraates speaks of the Spirit as the mother of a man.

We have now to consider one of the most dramatic discoveries of modern times. Buried for nearly two thousand years beneath the sands of Egypt, part of the litter of a rubbish-heap near the now ruined city of Oxyrhynchus, were thirteen sayings of our Lord. These were brought to light by Professor B. P. Grenfell and Dr. A. S. Hunt. The sayings are contained

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on two separate fragments of papyrus, one of which contains an introduction and five sayings ; the other seven sayings. The first saying comes from the Alexandrian Gospel, and the others are as yet not certainly identified. We give here the full collection, commencing with the preface.

56. These are the wonderful sayings which Jesus, the Living One, spake, and He spake them to Judas who is called Thomas. And He said to him, ' Whosoever heareth these sayings shall not taste of death.'

57. Jesus saith : ' Let not him who seeketh cease from seeking until he has found ; and when he hath found, he shall wonder ; and when he hath wondered he shall reign ; and when he hath reigned, he shall have rest.'

58. Jesus saith :¹ ' Ye say, Who are they that draw you into the Kingdom, if the Kingdom is in heaven ? Ask the birds of the air, and all the beasts that are under the earth, or on the earth, and the fishes of the sea. These are they that draw you. And the Kingdom nevertheless is in you, and whosoever shall know

¹ For the restoration of this difficult saying, use has been made both of the reconstruction of Dr. Deissmann and that of Professor Grenfell and Dr. Hunt. A hint has been taken up from Job xii. 7-8. The restoration is at best conjectural.

your inward parts shall find it . . . Know yourself in the sight of God, and ye are the sons of your Father which is perfect in heaven. Know yourselves in the sight of men, and even where you are terrified you are there (i.e. in heaven).'

59. Jesus saith : ' Shall a man who has found the way not fear to ask (in the kingdom) determining all things concerning his seat? Ye shall find that many first shall be last, and the last first, and they shall inherit eternal life.'

60. Jesus saith : ' Everything that is not before thine eyes, and that which is hidden from thee, shall be revealed to thee ; for there is nothing hid that shall not become manifest, and buried that shall not be raised up.'

61. His disciples examine Him and say, ' How shall we fast, and how shall we pray, and how shall we do alms, and what shall we keep of the traditions? ' Jesus saith : ' Ye shall not be as the hypocrites. Do not these things openly, and let your righteousness be concealed : for I say, " Blessed is he that doeth these things in secret, for he shall be rewarded openly by the Father who is in heaven." ' '

62. Jesus saith : ' Cast out first the beam

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out of thine own eye, and then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.'

63. Jesus saith : ' Except ye fast toward the world ye shall not find the Kingdom of God, and unless ye make the Sabbath a real Sabbath ye shall not see the Father.'

64. Jesus saith : ' I stood in the midst of the world, and in flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them ; and my soul grieved over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart, and see not.'

65. Jesus saith : ' Ye have the poor with you always, and when ye will ye are able to relieve their poverty.'

66. Jesus saith : ' Wheresoever there be two, they are not without God, and where there is one alone, I say, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find Me, cleave the wood and there I am.'

67. Jesus saith : ' A prophet is not acceptable in his own country ; neither doth a physician do healing upon them who know him.'

68. Jesus saith : ' A city built upon the top of a high mountain and established, can neither fall nor be hidden.'

69. Jesus saith : ' Thou hearest with one ear, but the other hast thou closed.'

These sayings are perhaps the most valuable contribution modern research has bestowed upon the Church. They have every appearance of being authentic and genuine, and are quite in the manner of the historical Jesus.

They touch the Canonical Scriptures at very many points, verifying at one time the Synoptics and at another the Fourth Gospel. The styles of both schools are represented here. The stamp of His personality is upon them ; they are coined by the Master of epigrams, sealed with the hall-mark of His depth of insight, and forged on the same anvil as the long-treasured words enshrined in the Gospels. What the machinery of science cannot prove, the faith of believers is ready to take on trust. These are in very truth spoken by Jesus, the Living One. Let us take them to heart that we may not taste of death, but find in them a well of water springing up to life eternal.

The first saying (No. 57) is very strongly attested. ' Seek and ye shall find ' is in the Canonical Gospels. In illustration of the Platonic maxim ' Wonder is the beginning of philosophy,' Clement of Alexandria quotes a

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shorter version, 'He who wonders shall reign, and he who reigns shall rest.' In another place he quotes our saying in full, save that he turns an injunction into a statement. 'He who seeks shall not cease till he finds,' &c. The Odes of Solomon iii. 6 combine part of this saying with a part of saying 66: 'Where His rest is, there also am I,' thus indirectly confirming both. Again, Clement of Alexandria cites the Traditions of Matthias as a testimony to the value of wonder in stimulating inquiry. Compare also the Gospel of Thomas, where we find the echo, 'It is enough for thee to seek and not to find.'

Saying 58 in our list is unsupported by external evidence so far, but No. 59 seems to fit into the context of Matt. xix. 28-30, where the subject of thrones in the Kingdom precedes the saying concerning the first last and last first. The first part of our saying might come between Matt. xix. 29 and xix. 30.

Having drawn the attention of our readers to this section of the first Gospel, we may here mention some interesting *agrapha* arising from Matt. xix. 29. Irenaeus quotes Papias on the blessing of Isaac in these words:

70. The Lord said: 'Days shall come

wherein vines shall grow each having ten thousand main shoots, and each main shoot ten thousand branches, and each branch ten thousand sprigs, and upon every sprig ten thousand clusters, and in every cluster ten thousand grapes, and every grape press shall yield twenty-five measures of wine . . . and when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster another cluster shall say, "I am a better cluster, take me, by me bless the Lord." Judas the traitor questions this, and Jesus answers, "Those who see it will attain to this." "

A Coptic encomium on John the Baptist, after much in a like strain, continues :

71. Those are the good things which I have prepared for every one who shall celebrate the commemoration of my Beloved One and My kinsman John upon the earth. Blessed is every one who shall be worthy to inherit these good things.

We have here a good example of the transference to the Master of sayings which favoured the dogmatic bias of the writer recording them. Papias would appear to have been a first-century Pastor Russellite, for he had decided millenarian leanings. The substance of the

¹ See Appendix D.

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above comes from the Apocalypse of Enoch (150 B.C.) and the Apocalypse of Baruch (first century A.D.).

Returning to our main theme of 'thrones' and 'seats' in the Kingdom, we remark that this idea is in line with the Messianic ideas of the time. The Apocalypse of Enoch (cviii. 12) used the expression 'I will seat each on the throne of his honour.'

Concerning the 'first last and the last first,' a verse from the fourth book of Ezra may serve as commentary: 'I will liken my judgement to a ring; just as there is no retardation of those that are last, even so there is no hastening of those that are first.'

Saying 62 seems to be a humorous reminiscence of the carpenter's shop. The idea of having a plank in one's eye is truly Oriental in its quaint exaggeration.

We find a parallel to No. 64 in the mystery cults. There drunkenness and sleep are associated. Men are ever drunken with their own conceits, and are asleep to understanding. In *Poimandres* an appeal is made to earth-born men 'who have given themselves over to drunkenness and slumber and to ignorance of God, to be sober, and to cease from

debauchery, and the spell of unthinking sleep.' We may compare here 1 Cor. xv. 34.

Professor J. A. Findlay, in *Jesus as they saw Him*, sees in No. 66, 'Raise the stone and there thou shalt find Me, cleave the wood and there I am,' Jesus pronouncing His blessing on the lonely church-builder, missionary, and pathfinder, parted by the very conditions of his pioneer work from Christian fellowship. This saying in its entirety finds its counterpart in Matt. xviii. 19-20. Mr. Findlay also makes the happy suggestion that Christ being with the lonely worker makes up the essential two. 'Wheresoever there be two, they are not without God, and where there is one alone, I say I am with him'—thus one is never alone, for the Unseen Companion is there.

This saying is independently attested by a saying reported in the Gospel of Thomas. It would seem that the following story of Christ's infancy arose from a confused recollection of our fragment of Gospel tradition: 'A young man was splitting wood in the corner (perhaps a better reading is obtained by a slight alteration of the Greek, making it read neighbourhood¹), and the axe came down and cut the sole of his

¹i.e. ἐν τῇ γειτονίᾳ for ἐν τῇ γωνίᾳ.

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foot in two, and he died from loss of blood. And then there was a great commotion, and people ran together, and the child Jesus ran there, too. And He pressed through the crowd, and laid hold of the young man's wounded foot, and he was cured immediately. And He said to the young man, "Rise up now, cleave the wood and remember Me."'

This story of an accident while cleaving wood serves to remind us of the application of our saying to those in dangerous employments. 'Lift the stone and there thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood and there I am.' It might have been framed to contrast with Eccles. x. 9: 'Whoso removeth stones shall be hurt therewith, and he that cleaveth wood shall be endangered thereby.' 'Don't worry in the pursuit of your dangerous tasks,' says Jesus, in effect, 'I am with you.'

Ephraim Syrus quotes a variant of the first portion of the agraphon. 'Where one is, there too am I; where two are, there too will I be.' The suggestion of the Eternal Presence finds its complement in a saying of Rabbi Abin: 'Remember, when a poor man stands at your door, the Holy One stands at his right hand.'

" "Lord," prayed the ancient prophet, "open

his eyes that he may see," and the Lord opened the eyes of the young man ; and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha. And if only the veil were lifted from our hearts when we gather believingly in His blessed name, we would see a far more wondrous sight ; we would see Jesus.'¹

Dr. E. C. Selwyn would base his interpretation of our passage on the Old Testament oracle of Christ the Rock. Isa. li. 1 gives us the basis : ' Seek the Lord, look ye unto the solid rock whence ye were hewn.' He says, ' May we not, perhaps, in the light of this thought, understand the Oxyrhynchus saying, " Raise the stone and there "—in the solid rock on which the stone lay—" thou shalt find Me : cleave the wood and there I am, for the two pieces of cleft wood compose the cross " ? '

Light may be also looked for in the direction of the Christian life as a quest. ' Seek and ye shall find,' said Jesus. Treasure would often be hidden in Syria during the times of political unrest, and perhaps Christ had often seen eager treasure-seekers upturning stones to find the hoard beneath. Once He told a parable about one who actually did find such a treasure, and

¹ David Smith, *In the Days of His Flesh*, p. 526.

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sold all that he had to buy the field. Turning over boulders under a hot Syrian sun is not easy work ; and seeking the Kingdom of God is no less arduous. It is no quest for the faint-hearted—it requires hard and often dangerous labour for His sake—stone-raising and wood-cleaving have their place in the life of one who would take up his cross and follow Him.

In the case of the saying 67, Dr. Rendel Harris sees a reply to a popular saying such as ‘ Prophet, preach at home ; doctor, heal thyself,’ to which Jesus retorts, ‘ A prophet is not acceptable in his own country ; neither doth a physician do healing upon them that know him.’

viii. *Four Fragments from Oxyrhynchus*

We have now remaining the fragments of three—possibly four—lost Gospels from Oxyrhynchus. The first may be allocated to a date about A.D. 200. That it is post-apostolic is seen from its use of the word ‘ Saviour ’ instead of ‘ Jesus ’ or ‘ Lord.’ This title was at first disliked because it was borne by kings and emperors. Ephesus, for instance, designated Julius Caesar as ‘ God manifest and the common Saviour of human life.’ An inscription at

Philae, on the Nile, put Augustus on an equality with the greatest of Greek deities, for he is 'star of all Greece, who has arisen as great Saviour Zeus.' The same title was common in the mystery cults, as is seen from the prayer of Lucius after being initiated into the mysteries of the Goddess Isis at Cenchrea: 'Thou who art the holy and eternal Saviour of mankind; ever bountiful to the mortals who cherish thee, thou bestowest thy gracious mother-love upon the wretched in their misfortunes,' &c.

The fragment would appear to have had its home in Egypt from a number of circumstances. Jesus is represented as walking with His disciples in 'the place of purification,' as though this was a court within the sacred precincts, open to all comers. There was no such place in the temple at Jerusalem, though it was a feature of the heathen temples of Egypt. Again, among the Jews it was the priests alone who had to perform ceremonial ablutions and array themselves in white garments. Nor is there any record of a 'pool of David' approached and quitted by separate stairs and polluted by dogs and swine.

We may surmise, since there is nothing really improbable in the incident, that the writer had

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heard a credible tradition of an encounter between Jesus and a Pharisee in the court of the temple, and made up most of the details. The phrase 'harlots and flute girls' may be another touch of local colouring, but it must be borne in mind that this same phrase occurs in the parable of the talents as told in the Gospel of the Nazarenes.

72. ¹ ' . . . before he does wrong makes all manner of subtle excuse. But give heed lest ye also suffer the same things as they ; for the evil doers among men receive their reward, not among the living only, but also await much punishment and much torment.' And He took them, and brought them into the very place of purification, and was walking in the temple ; and a certain Pharisee, a chief priest, whose name was Levi, met them, and said to the Saviour, ' Who gave thee leave to walk in this place of purification, and to see these holy vessels, when thou hast not washed, nor yet have thy disciples bathed their feet ? But defiled thou hast walked this temple, which is a pure place wherein no other man walks except he has washed himself and changed his garments, neither does he venture to see these holy vessels.' And the Saviour straightway stood still with His disciples and answered

him, ' Art thou, then, being here in the temple, clean?' He saith unto Him, ' I am clean, for I washed in the pool of David, and having descended by one staircase I ascended by another, and I put on white and clean garments, and then I came and looked upon these holy vessels.' The Saviour answered and said to him, ' Alas, ye blind who see not. Thou hast washed in these running waters wherein dogs and swine have been cast night and day, and hast cleansed and wiped the outside skin, which also the harlots and flute girls anoint, and wash and wipe for the lusts of men; but within they are full of scorpions and all wickedness. But I and My disciples who thou sayest have not bathed have been dipped in the water of eternal life which comes from (the throne of God), but woe unto the . . . '

The introduction of swine into the above narrative seems to hint at a distant connexion with a wide-spread and influential cycle of stories and sayings. We have one version in the Story of Ahikar, viii. 15 (Arabic), where we read, ' O my son ! thou hast been to me like the pig who went into the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath, it saw a muddy hole, and it went down and wallowed in it.' The Syriac version runs similarly, ' My son, thou hast been to me like

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the swine that had been to the baths, and when it saw a muddy ditch, went down and washed in it, and cried to its companions, "Come and wash." Associated with the same cycle is the saying attributed by Clement of Alexandria[†] to Democritus: 'For swine delight in mud more than in clean water, and wallow in a drain.' Quite unexpectedly we find the same proverb reappearing in 2 Pet. ii. 22: 'The dog turning to his own vomit again, and the sow that had washed to wallowing in the mire.' The question here naturally arises: Did Our Lord ever use some version of this widely-spread proverb? Three things would seem to indicate that He did. Its general agreement with the story of the swept and garnished house which became seven times viler than before; the attribution to Him in the Talmud of the saying: 'From offal it has come; to the place of offal it shall go,' and the vaguer reference in our Papyrus fragment. The use of the proverb in the Second Epistle of Peter is not without significance when we bring it into conjunction with these three indications. If indeed Jesus used the proverb at all, it would perhaps best come in as an illustration of Matt. xii. 43-45.

[†] Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, 75.

73. . . . overcame me. And Jesus stood by in a vision and said, 'Why art thou cast down? for it is not thou who . . . but he who gave . . .'

What does this refer to? Can it be to Peter's remorse after the denial? Let us see how this works out. We conjecturally emend the above, and read ' (My fear and dismay) overcame me.' And Jesus stood by in a vision and said, ' Why art thou cast down, for it is not thou who (art blameworthy), but he who gave (thee admission into the court of the high-priest?).' If this represents something like the meaning of our fragment, we are forced to reconsider an old controversy. Was it John, the beloved disciple, or Judas who admitted Peter into the courtyard? Mr. E. A. Abbott, in his *Miscellanea Evangelica*, says, 'The unnamed disciple was not John but Judas Iscariot; and this subtle, perhaps we must say over-subtle, Evangelist intended us to distinguish "another disciple who was the friend of the high-priest" from one whom he will describe later on as the "other disciple whom Jesus loved."' He goes on to suggest that consistently with his previous attempt to mislead Peter, Judas attempts again, and on this occasion succeeds. 'This

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is the work of the "other" disciple who was the friend of the high-priest.'

The evidence of the *Book of Testimonies*—the handbook of proof-texts of the Early Church—comes in here. Now the R.V. 'was known to the high-priest' seems weak, since the Greek word for 'known' as applied to persons is extremely rare. It occurs in the New Testament only here and in two passages where the parents of Jesus are described as searching for Him among their kindred and 'acquaintance,' and where 'all His acquaintance . . . stood afar off' round His cross. The margin of the latter passage refers us to the Psalms, where the same Greek word is repeated. 'Thou hast put mine acquaintance far from me' repeated thus: 'Lover and friend hast thou put far from me, and mine acquaintance into darkness.'¹ But even our Revisers have rightly shrunk from rendering it by 'acquaintance,' and have retained 'familiar friend' in the complaint, 'It was thou, a man mine equal, my companion, and my familiar friend.' It is noteworthy here that Hesychius places it as a parallel to brother. Now the comings and goings of Judas during his negotiations might naturally lay him open

¹ Ps. lxxxviii. 8 and lxxxviii. 18.

to the Christian reproach that he, who should have been the 'familiar friend' of Jesus, had made himself the 'familiar friend' of Caiaphas. Concerning the words of the Psalm: 'It was thou . . . my familiar friend,' Jerome says, 'It was the saying of Christ about Judas'; and Origen assumes it, for he quotes it to show that Judas once loved Jesus.

When we examine the text of Ps. xli. 9, we again see how it could apply to the traitor. 'Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me.'

Did Jerome and Origen find Judas associated with the 'familiar friend' passages in the Ancient Book of Testimonies? We know this was used by the writer of the Fourth Gospel, who seems to have delighted in building on submerged testimonies.¹

Have we such a testimony below the surface in the allusion to the 'familiar friend' in the courtyard incident?

In the *Institutes* of John Cassian, chap. xxiii. (A.D. 495) we read, 'Look at Judas, reckoned among the number of the apostles, and see how, because he would not bruise the

¹ Cf. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*.

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deadly head of this serpent, it destroyed him with its poison.' The allusion here is to Gen. iii. 15, the last word of which, 'heel,' brings us back to Ps. xli. 9 with its allusion to a heel. It would seem from the above association that in the Testimonies Judas was regarded as the serpent (the devil). Compare 'And one of you is a devil' (John vi. 70).

Further Judas testimonies appear in Cassian's *Conferences*, chap. xxv.: 'David also, when complaining in prophetic spirit of Judas and the Lord's persecutors, says, "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living," and because they did not deserve to come to saving penitence because of the guilt of their great sin, he subjoins, "And let them not be written among the righteous."' The writer immediately goes on to cite further oracles bearing on Judas. Further Judas testimonies occur in Papias and other Fathers.¹

To sum up: the evidence would appear to show: (1) That there was a section of Judas oracles in the Testimony Book; (2) that some of these referred to him the 'familiar friend'

¹ Cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, where Judas is compared to 'bad oil'; Origen c. Celsus, who cites Ps. cix. 8: 'And his bishopric let another take, and v. 16: 'Because he remembered not to shew mercy, but persecuted the poor and needy man, that he might even slay the broken in heart.'

oracles ; (3) that John may have made a covert reference to these in his account of the admission into the courtyard ; (4) that perhaps our fragment alludes to Judas, since such condemnation of the beloved disciple is unthinkable.

Our Gospel fragment after a break, continues as follows :

. . . thou didst say . . . making no answer. What then hast thou forbidden ? What is the new doctrine that they say thou teachest, or what the new baptism that thou dost preach ? Answer and . . .

Mark i. 27 may give us a clue to the above, which may possibly have read : ' (And) thou didst say (to the unclean spirit, " Hold thy peace, and come out of him " ; and it came out of him) making no answer. What then hast thou forbidden ? . . . preach ? Answer and (we will judge of thy claims).' The questions might arise from either a Sabbath healing or a healing in the synagogue.

The scribes and Pharisees and priests, seeing Him, had indignation because He reclined in the midst of sinners. And Jesus hearing them said, ' They that are whole need not a physician (but they that are sick).'

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For this fragment cf. Mark ii. 15-17. This is a new confirmation from an independent source of the saying enshrined in the text of our Canonical Gospels.

And pray for your enemies ; for he that is not against you is with you. He that to-day is afar off, shall to-morrow be near you, and in . . . of the adversary.

Were the missing words here ' and in (that hour shall save you from the power) of the adversary ' ?

We now pass on to consider what appears to be the remains of a lost Gnostic Gospel, perhaps the ' Gospel of Truth.'¹

74. ' He who hath hearing beyond his ears, let him hear. I speak also to those who watch not.' Again He said (to His disciples) : ' Everything that is born of corruption perisheth, as having been born of corruption ; but that which is born of incorruption abideth incorruptible, as having been born of incorruption. Some men have been deceived, not knowing (the truth?)' . . . The disciples (ask Him), ' Lord, how then can we find faith?' The Saviour saith unto them, ' If ye pass from the things that are hidden, and into the light

¹ *Oxy. Pap.* 1081.

of things that are seen, the effluence of conception will of itself show you how faith that appeareth from (?) (sharing of my mysteries, in the ?¹) Father must be found. He who hath ears to hear, let him hear. The Lord of all is not the Father, but the Fore-father ; for the Father is the beginning of what shall be’

The above is so Gnostical that it is wellnigh impossible to follow. It is clearly far removed from anything Jesus can have said.

It is even doubtful whether our last citation comes from a lost Gospel at all. It may be a lost section of the Acts of Paul.*

75. . . . said, ‘Do as you wish.’ The prefect said to the chief huntsman, ‘Bring to me here . . . O Lord prefect, this man is not a magician, but perhaps his God is great’

The use of the word ‘fisherman’ to describe our Lord seems to have been common in the Early Church. Now in Syriac ‘fisherman’ and ‘huntsman’ are represented by one and the same word. A fine example occurs in Ephraim Syrus’ descriptive of the incident of the Samaritan woman at the well. ‘Our Lord came as a

¹ Cf. Unwritten Saying, ‘My mysteries are for me, and the Sons of my house.’

* *Oxy. Pap.* 851.

* *Eph. Syr., Evan. Concord. Expos*

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hunter to the well. He asked for water in order that taking an opportunity for water He might give water. From step to step He led her to the highest stage: first she saw Him as the thirsty man; then as the Jew; afterwards as the prophet; and last as God. The thirsty man she wished to persuade, from the Jew she recoiled; of the teacher she asked questions, by the prophet she was carried away (or shall we say "landed"?); but the Christ she adored.'

Let us now see how our fragment works out if we identify 'the chief hunter' with Jesus. The position seems to demand some such situation as the charge of wizardry brought against Jesus, when He had cured a sick person. The Roman official would demand witnesses for the accused. We may now reconstruct: '(then, being constrained by him, the rulers of the Jews) said, "Do as you wish." The prefect said to the chief hunter, "Bring to me here (those who will speak for you.)" But he who was cured, interrupting, said), "O Lord prefect, this man is not a magician, but perhaps his God is great . . . " '.

¹ Similar in purport to the above reconstruction is an incident in a Coptic Gospel Fragment given in Forbes Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* in Cambridge Texts and Studies, where Jesus is accused of being a magician.

In the course of our studies in Lost Gospels, we have found much which supports the accepted tradition, some New Sayings of Jesus and here and there new light on what we had already in the New Testament. If at times we have been driven to conjecture by the fragmentary nature of some of our sources, on the whole we have perhaps not wandered too far from the solid ground of historical criticism, and have found in our inquiries sufficient grain among the chaff to reward us for our pains.

V

SAYINGS FROM THE FATHERS

i. *The Letter of Jesus to King Abgarus*

THIS supposed letter of Jesus is to be found in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. Abgarus is said to have written to Christ asking Him to flee from His enemies in Palestine, and also to cure the king of a fell disease. He at the same time offers Him the hospitality of his own city of Edessa in Syria. Though many have defended the letter, on the whole modern critical opinion is against its genuineness.

76. Jesus to Abgarus : 'Abgarus ! You are happy, forasmuch as you have believed on Me, whom you have not seen ; for it is written concerning Me, that those who have seen Me should not believe on Me, that they who have not seen might believe and live. As to that part of your letter which relates to My giving you a visit, I must inform you that I must fulfil all the ends of My mission in this country, and after that be received up again to Him who sent Me. But after My ascension I will

send one of My disciples, who will cure your disease, and give life to you, and all that are with you.'—*Epistle by the hand of Ananias the footman.*

Tradition has it that Thaddaeus was the disciple sent. Dean Farrar suggests in his *Life of Christ* that the mysterious Greeks of the Fourth Gospel were the messengers of Abgarus. Whether the story be true or not, we are bound at least to appreciate a legend so harmless and so pleasing.

ii. *Miscellaneous Sayings*

77. Show yourselves tried money-changers.

This saying is well attested, being found in Epiphanius, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Origen. Some add to it 'holding fast the good, abstaining from every form of evil,' and some 'accepting the genuine, rejecting the counterfeit coin.' Both additions appear to be explanatory glosses.

78. Look with wonder at that which is before you.

This is found in Clement of Alexandria, and may perhaps be genuine.

79. He who is near Me is near the fire, he who is far from Me is far from the kingdom.

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That Jesus certainly did say something like this is vouched for by the existing variants. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Smyrneans, has:

80. To be near the sword is to be near God.

Further confirmation comes from the newly identified Armenian MSS. of Tatian's 'Perfection According to the Saviour,' for which we have to thank Dr. Rendel Harris :

81. Verily this is what our life-giving Saviour has said : ' He who is near Me is near the fire, and he who is far from Me is far from the life.'

In this case the Kingdom is not far off—it occurs in the next phrase, ' And we too have a lust for the heavenly gates of the Kingdom. . . . '

82. For those that are sick I was sick, and for those that hunger I suffered hunger, and for those that thirst I suffered thirst.

This occurs in Origen's commentary on Matthew, and may be genuine. The nearest parallel is to be seen in the Testament of Joseph, xvii. 7. ' Their life was My life, and all their suffering was My suffering, and all their sickness was My infirmity.'

83. In whatsoever I may find you, in this will I also judge you.

The best-attested agraphon in existence. It is found cited in the Fathers of all ages.

84. No thank have ye if ye love them which love you ; but ye have thank if ye love your enemies and them which hate you.

Found in the Second Epistle of Clement. Perhaps from the Gospel according to the Egyptians.

85. Whatsoever ye preach in words before the people, practise it in deeds before all men.

Possibly genuine. From the Syriac version of the Teaching of Addaeus the Apostle.

86. Accept not anything of any man, and possess not anything in the world.

Doubtful. From the same source as the last.

87. He who seeks Me will find Me in children from seven years old ; for, there concealed, I shall in the fourteenth age be made manifest.

From some lost Gospel of Thomas. Spurious and Gnostic. The saying is probably stolen from Hippocrates, who says, ' A child of seven years is half a father.'

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88. Keep the mysteries for me and the sons of my house.

Clement of Alexandria, the Clementine Homilies, and Cyril all give the above with the variant in Cyril.

89. Guard the mystery of Him who gives the reward.

Clement says the logion came from 'some Gospel.'

90. A man untempted is rejected.

This comes from the Syriac Didascalia.

91. That which is weak shall be saved through that which is strong.

From the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles. Minucius Felix has the following variant, with which compare 2 Cor. xii. 10 :

92. Strength is made strong by infirmities.

93. Pray for great things, and little things will be granted to you. Pray for heavenly blessings, and earthly ones will be granted to you.

This is probably genuine. It is found in Origen and Clement of Alexandria.

94. When thou sawest thy brother, thou sawest thy God.

Probably genuine. Found once in Tertullian and twice in Clement of Alexandria.

95. It must needs be that good should come and blessed is he through whom it comes.

Found in both the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies.

96. Do I allow the circuit of the sun, the blowing of the winds, the flowing of the rivers, the bridling of the seas, the descent of the rain, the bringing forth of fruits, the birth and growth of men together, and the energies of all living beings, about everything? These things are accomplished by means of angels according to His will, and these things are done in the feasts, and on the Sabbaths, and at every hour.

Thus the Syriac commentator Isho'dad (ninth century), whose interpretations preserve much older material, on John v. 17. Compare with this agraphon Odes of Solomon xvi. 12 ff. and Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. 16.

97. Andrew, do thou behold My feet, and see whether they cleave to the earth. For it is written in the prophet: 'The foot of a ghostly demon cleaves not to the earth.'

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This curious saying comes from the *Epistola Apostolorum*.

98. They who wish to see Me, and to lay hold on My Kingdom, must receive Me by affliction and suffering.

This saying is quite early, appearing in the Epistle of Barnabas.

99. If ye keep not that which is little, who will give you that which is great?

This also is early, and occurs in the second Epistle of Clement of Rome.

100. The just man accuseth himself.

101. Woe unto him, because of whose levity My name is spoken evil of by any.

Both No. 100 and No. 101 come from the Epistles of Ignatius, and are very early.

102. There shall be schisms and heresies.

Found in Justin Martyr, the Clementine Homilies, and the Didascalia. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 18-19, which may be taken as pointing to its genuineness.

103. Blessed is he who also fasts that he may feed the poor.

Found in Origen and in the Apology of Aristides.

104. Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.

This is cited in the *Life* of St. Syncletica (A.D. 370) as a saying of Jesus: also in Pseudo-Origen's Dialogue with a Marcionite. It occurs in Eph. iv. 26, and an anonymous writer of about A.D. 300 says it occurred in a Gospel.

105. The Lord resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.

Found in Ephraim Syrus. Compare Jas. iv. 6 and Prov. iii. 24.

106. Cleave unto the saints, for they who cleave to them shall be sanctified.

Very early. Found in Clement of Rome. Cf. also Shepherd of Hermas.

107. No one untempted shall attain to the heavenly realms.

This in the writings of Tertullian. Cf. saying 90. Christ certainly would seem to have said something like this,

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108. Whoso redeemeth souls from idols he shall be great in My kingdom.

From the Acts of Thomas.

109. You have sent away the living who is before you and prate of dead men.

Augustine quotes this as an example from false Scriptures.

110. Be ye angry and sin not.

From a Marcionite Dialogue with Adamantius, and Eph. iv. 26. Quite probably a saying of Jesus.¹

111. When a man is able to do good, and doeth it not, he is alien from the love of God.

This is early, occurring in the letter of Irenaeus to Victor.

112. The labourer is worthy of his hire, and a threshing-ox thou shalt not muzzle, and no one planteth a vine and eateth not its fruit.

The additions occur in the Apostolical Church Order and in the Coptic Church Order. The central section comes from Deut. xxv. 4.

¹ Cf. No. 104.

113. Behold a man and his deeds.

From Tertullian (*De Idol.* cxx.) and Augustine, *Meditations*, 39. Cf. LXX. of Isa. lxii. 10.

114. Woe to those who have, and yet hypocritically take from others ; who are able to help themselves, and yet wish to take from others, for each man shall give account in the day of Judgement.

Mr. W. Lock considers this saying to be genuine. It is found in the Apostolical Constitutions. It would follow quite naturally Matt. v. 42, Luke vi. 30.

115. As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, you shew forth My death until I come.

This is from the same source as the last.

116. Resist all evil, and hold it in abhorrence.

This is early, and occurs in the Epistle of Barnabas.

117. I will select to Myself the good : those good ones whom My Father in heaven has given Me.

This is to be found in the Syriac Theophania of Eusebius.

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118. The Spirit which He has caused to dwell in our hearts yearns jealously over us.

From the Epistle of James, iv. 5, who cites it as Scripture. Does this mean it came from a lost Gospel?

119. Every one who does not suffer for Me hath no life in himself.

120. I often desired to hear one of these words and had not one to tell it.

From Marcus *ap. Iren.* i. 20-2.

121. Blessed are they who have been persecuted through righteousness, for they shall be perfect: and blessed are they who have been persecuted for My sake, for they shall have a place where they shall not be persecuted.

A new beatitude from Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 41).

122. My water comes down from heaven.

This is an interesting saying occurring in Tatian's Diatessaron. It is supported by a fine passage in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans. 'My love is crucified (and the fire that is within me does not desire any water, but being alive and springing within me, says), Come to the

Father.' Compare also John vii. 38: 'Out of his throne' ('belly' becomes 'throne' by a slight emendation of the Syriac, and must be correct here) 'shall flow rivers of living water.'

123. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one and the same.

Epiphanius here quotes the Gospel according to the Egyptians.

124. If the neighbour of an elect person sins, the elect has sinned; for if he had lived according to the counsels of the word his neighbour would so have esteemed his manner of life that he would have kept free from sin.

This occurred in the Traditions (or Gospel?) of Matthias.

These are merely a few specimens taken at random from the vast treasure-house of the primitive writings; but they may serve to illustrate what still lies buried in the dust of libraries, awaiting the keen searcher after 'lost words' of the Master. We could give more here, but space forbids, as we have still to glance at the bulky writings of the world of Islam. We may, however, in closing this chapter, give a specimen from another field—a lost saying

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incorporated in a fragment of an early Christian hymn.

125. . . . God came bringing many blessings. He wrought a triple victory over death . . . Jesus who suffered for this, saying, 'I give My back, that thou fall not a prey to death . . . '

The date is about the latter part of the third century, and what remains of the hymn is on a torn papyrus fragment now in Berlin.

VI

JESUS IN ISLAM

i. *The Christ of Mohammedan Literature*

THE value of our present study cannot be too strongly emphasized. It is not so much that the sayings themselves are likely to be genuine—the chances are against that—but it is imperative that missionaries to the Mohammedans should have clear ideas as to the place which Jesus takes in present Moslem thought. This can be, to some extent, realized by a study of their traditions of the Master. The subject is complicated by the chaotic state of their literature. This can be illustrated by a saying taken from El-Ghassali's *Revival of the Religious Sciences*.

126. Jesus said (May Allah bless and give Him peace): 'He that has been endowed with knowledge, and practises and teaches it, shall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven.'

A number of MSS. however omit the name 'Jesus,' as though at some time the words had been ascribed to the Prophet.

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Another difficulty arises from our present ignorance of the bulk of Mohammedan literature, which still requires the attention of the literary critic. We are largely in the dark in the matter of dating the various sayings and stories. A greater application on the part of competent scholars is necessary before we can assign these words to either Jesus, the Prophet, or later Islamic writers. In this chapter we have space for only a brief outline of a vast and far-reaching subject.

In the Koran itself Jesus is represented as a prophet. In the Sura Maryam, delivered in Mecca, Mary is accused by the Jews of unchastity, and the child, speaking from the cradle, defends its mother. It said :

127. Verily I am the Servant of Allah : He hath given me the book, and He hath made me a Prophet.

The idea of speaking from the cradle comes from the Apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy. To the same effect is another Meccan Sura—the Sura Zukhruf—where we read : ‘ Jesus is no more than a servant whom we favoured, and proposed as an instance of Divine power to the Children of Israel. And He shall be a sign

of the last hour.' We seem to have here a reference to the Second Coming.

If they regard Him merely as a prophet, and not as divine, they are nevertheless certain that He worked miracles. Imam Mohammed bin Ali Baqir, for instance, related a story of His supernatural knowledge as a boy.¹

128. Jesus was so intelligent that, when nine months old, his mother sent him to school. The master said the Bismilla—'In the Name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate'—which the child at once repeated after him. The master then gave a number of words to be read, of which the first was abjad. Jesus wished to know why He should do this, upon which the master became angry and struck Him. The child said, 'If you know, explain; if you do not, listen. In abjad "a" stands for Allah la ilah (there is no God but God) "b" for Bahjat Ullah (grace of God), "j" for Jalal Ullah (Glory of God), "d" for Din Ullah (religion of God).'

Another infancy miracle is related in the Koran in the chapter entitled 'The Family of Imran.'

¹ Cf. Gospel of Thomas for a similar story. Similar in purport is the Papyrus of Rha-m-uas, in the British Museum, where a like story is related of the child Se-Osiris.

² Imran is the name given in the Koran to the father of the Virgin Mary.

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129. Verily I come unto you with a sign from your Lord ; for I will make before you, of clay, as it were the figure of a bird ; then I will breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird, by the permission of God.

It is said by the commentators that the bird was a bat, which flew away whilst they looked at it, and, when out of sight, fell down dead.

How often has it been said that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery ! It is noteworthy that all the great things related of our Lord in the Gospels have been attributed to Mohammed. One supposes the argument to have been : ' Did Jesus do this ? Then the Prophet could do no less.' We find that, like Jesus, Mohammed was tempted by Satan, preaches a sermon from a mount, is tested by difficult questions, ascends into heaven, and descends into hell.

It is suggestive, however, to compare the story of Jesus and the woman taken in adultery with one concerning the prophet. ' In the fourth year after his flight, his Excellency had a man and a Jewish woman stoned. The Jews wanted to deceive his Excellency in this matter by a trick, saying, " In our law the punishment of adultery is this, that the guilty party, be he

man or woman, should have his face blackened, and being placed in a reverse position upon a camel, should be publicly paraded in the market-place." Abd Allah Ibn Selam, who had been a Jewish priest, but had been ennobled with the nobility of Islam, said to his Excellency, "O thou prophet of God, these men tell a lie; according to the Torah, adulterers have to be stoned" . . . whereupon they stoned that adulterer and adulteress.'

ii. *Asceticism*

The asceticism of the Moslem is well known, and Jesus has often been used by them to commend it. We can only give a few characteristic examples in this place.

Possibly our first specimen is genuine. It comes from an inscription on the gateway of a Mohammedan temple at Futehpur-Sikri. If so, it would apparently be a fragment of Christ's Tyrian teaching,¹ and have reached India through the medium of the Christians of St. Thomas.

130. Jesus, on whom be peace, has said :
'The world is merely a bridge; ye are to

¹ The only river of Palestine, the Jordan, was uncrossed by any bridges; but Tyre was on an island and was joined to the mainland by a bridge, or mole, made by Alexander the Great.

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pass over it, and not to build your dwellings upon it.'

131. Jesus, on whom be peace, has said : ' Blessed is he who has left a present desire for the sake of some absent promise, which he has never seen.'

132. Jesus, on whom be peace, has said : ' O company of My Apostles, keep your bellies hungry and expose your bodies, that your hearts may see God.'¹

133. It was said to Jesus, on whom be peace : ' Tell us the work which, if we fulfil we may be able to enter into Paradise.' Jesus answered, ' Never speak.' His disciples said, ' We cannot do that.' Jesus answered, ' Then never speak but what is good.'

134. Jesus, on whom be peace, has said : ' Luxurious clothes ; proud heart.'

135. Jesus, on whom be peace, has said : ' Do not take this world for a master, or it will take you as its slaves.'

136. It was said by His disciples to Jesus, on whom be peace : ' If you would only take some house to shelter you.' Jesus said, ' The worn

¹ Cf. 'strip off the garment of shame' in the Gospel of the Egyptians, and 'when ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed' in *Oxy. Pap.* 635.

garments of those who have lived before us are enough for us.'

137. Imitate, O brother, if this pleases you, the mode of life of Him, who in Himself possessed the Spirit and the Word of God ; I mean Jesus, Son of Mary, on whom be peace. He used often to say, ' My relish I eat with My food is hunger, My inner covering the fear of God, My outer covering wool, My mantle in winter some sunny spot, My light the moon, My horse My feet, My diet and dainties the wild fruits which the earth bears uncultivated. Every day when evening comes it sees Me possessing nothing at all. When morning comes it greets Me, having likewise nothing ; and yet there is no one richer than I am the wide world over.'

This last saying might well be a genuine saying of Jesus.

iii. *Eschatology*

The Moslems believe that as a reward for self-denial in this world God will literally make it up to them in heaven. Thus they say God promised Jesus one hundred beautiful girls for wives in heaven. This may come from a Christian source, since Jerome, in his commentary on Matthew, says : ' He who has lost one

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wife for the sake of the Lord will find a hundred in the future.' Their conceptions of hell are very literal. The skull of a dead man tells Jesus that his soul 'is hanging suspended above the Abyss of Gehenna, not knowing whether I shall be liberated or cast down headlong into it.' Such an existence of suspense, must be, to steal Dean Swift's simile, the life of a spider.

138. Said Messiah, on whom be peace: 'Blessed are the humble in this world, for they shall possess the loftier places in the Day of Judgement. Blessed are they who win peace in this world, for they are those who shall inherit Paradise on the Day of Judgement. Blessed are the pure in heart of this world, for they are those who shall see God, whose name is exalted, in the Day of Judgement.'

139. The story is told of Jesus, on whom be peace, that He passed three men whose bodies were emaciated, and whose faces had changed their colour, and he said to them, 'What brought you to the state in which I see you?' They answered, 'Fear of Hell.' Jesus said, 'God is held to extend protection to him who is afraid.' Later on, as He passed, He came near three others, who were still thinner, and whose faces were still more changed, and said to them, 'What brought you to the state in

which I see you?' They answered, 'Desire of Paradise.' Jesus said, 'God is held to give you that which you hope for.' Later He went on and passed three others, who were thinner still, and whose faces were more changed in colour, just as if the reflection of light were playing over their faces, and said to them, 'What brought you to the state in which I see you?' 'Because we love God, who may be magnified and honoured.' Jesus said, 'You are the friends of God. You are the friends of God. You are the friends of God.'

The Anti-Christ legends of Islam are discussed in the appendix.

iv. *Epigram, Wit, and Humour*

Some of the sayings of the Mohammedan Jesus are characteristic of Oriental humour, while not a few are in their way not bad specimens of wit.

140. Jesus, on whom be peace, has said: 'How many are the trees, but not all bear fruit; how many are the fruits, but not all good; how many are the sciences, but not all useful.'

141. It is said that a pig passed near Jesus, on whom be peace, to whom He said, 'Go in peace.' It was objected to Him, 'O Spirit of

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wife for the sake of the Lord will find a hundred in the future.' Their conceptions of hell are very literal. The skull of a dead man tells Jesus that his soul 'is hanging suspended above the Abyss of Gehenna, not knowing whether I shall be liberated or cast down headlong into it.' Such an existence of suspense, must be, to steal Dean Swift's simile, the life of a spider.

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God ! Do you say this to a pig ? ' Jesus answered, ' I hate to teach my tongue scandalous words.'

142. Jesus, on whom be peace, has said : ' Truly I tell you, be not like a sieve, which lets the good meal outside, while it leaves inside only husks and chaff.'

143. Jesus, on whom be peace, has said : ' What is the good of a lantern placed above the roof of a dark house when within all is deserted and dark ? '

144. Jesus, on whom be peace, has said : ' You will not attain to what you love except by bearing the things you hate.'

145. Jesus, the Son of Mary, said, ' I have treated the leprous and the blind, and I have cured them ; but when I have treated the fool, I have failed to cure him.'

146. The Messiah, the Son of Mary, may God bless Him and give Him peace, came near a certain crowd of Jews who indeed cursed Him, but He blessed them. So His disciples said, ' Are these people actually cursing you, while you bless ? ' Jesus answered, ' Each brings his own peculiar goods out of his own peculiar store.'

147. Said Jesus, on whom be peace :
 ' Consider the birds. They do not sow nor
 reap, nor gather into barns, and God, who may
 be exalted, sustains them every day. But if
 you say, " We are provided with a greater
 stomach than they," consider the camels,
 since God, let Him be praised, has destined
 created things to supply them.'

148. Jesus said, ' Be in the midst, yet walk
 on one side.'

149. Jesus, on whom be peace, has said :
 ' Fire is not extinguished with fire, but rather
 with water ; even so, I say unto you, that ye
 shall not overcome evil with evil but with
 good.'

150. Jesus, on whom be peace, has said :
 ' Do not hang pearls on the necks of pigs, for
 wisdom is better than a pearl, and he who has
 despised it is worse than a pig.'

Badaoni cites it as a well-known proverb in
 his Muntakhab at Tawarikh, in this form :
 ' It is wrong to put fine jewels on the neck of
 a pig.'

v. Stories

The following stories concerning Jesus are
 characteristic of Mohammedan literature, and

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may help the reader to gain insight into the Moslem's ideas concerning Him. The first is of considerable beauty.

151. Tainting the air, on a sirocco day, the carcass of a hound, all loathsome, lay in Nazareth's narrow street. Wayfarers hurried past covering mouth and nostrils, and at last when purer air they reached (in Eastern style) they cursed the dog, and the dog's owners, ancestors, and theirs who, bound to care for public cleanliness, yet left the nuisance there to poison all around. Then, that same way, there came 'Isa' the Son of Mary, of great fame for mighty deeds performed in Allah's name. He said, 'How lovely are its teeth, so sharp, and white as pearls,' then went His way.

152. It is said that when Jesus, Son of Mary, on whom be peace, was born, the demons came to the devil, and said to Him, 'To-day the idols throughout the earth appeared with heads cast down.' The devil answered them, 'This is novel. Stand where you are.' And when he had said this he flew to the extreme ends of the East and West, finding nothing. Afterwards he found the new-born Jesus, on whom be peace, and the angels surrounding Him. So he returned to the devils and said, 'Indeed a

prophet was born yesterday, for never has any one been conceived by a woman, or brought out into the light of day behind my back except this prophet. You can give up hope, then, that idols are to be adored by men after to-night, but tempt the sons of Adam by suggesting to them haste and carelessness of work.'¹

153. The traditions of the Prophets say that Mary and Joseph and the Child Jesus, on whom be peace, fled from Herod to Damascus to the house of a rich man who protected and provided for them. He nourished many lame and blind people; at this time a very valuable article of his was stolen, and no trace of the thief could be found. Jesus said, 'Such a lame man and such a blind man stole the thing.' When accused the blind man said, 'How could I see to steal?' and the lame man, 'How could I walk to do so?' Jesus said, 'The blind man carried the lame man, who then from a shelf took the goods and divided the booty.' So the thieves were found out.

154. It is said on the authority of Jairair Laith that a certain man wanted to go along

¹ For falling down of idols cf. Pseudo-Matthew: Arabic Infancy. Sozomen says he was told by many, and he credits the relations of the idols in Egypt falling down. Cf. also the narrative of Events Happening in Persia, by Julius Africanus.

with Jesus, on whom be peace, who said, 'I will go along with you and enjoy your company.' So they both went off together and came to a bank of a river, where they sat and enjoyed a meal. They were carrying three loaves with them, and ate two, one remaining. So Jesus, on whom be peace, arose and went to the river, and having drunk some water, returned. When He did not find the remaining loaf, He said to the man, 'Who stole the bread?' The man said, 'I do not know.' So Jesus and His companion proceeded on their way, and when He saw a gazelle with her two young ones, He called one of the two to Him, and when it came along He killed it, and from its flesh Jesus roasted a piece. Himself ate and the man also. Afterwards He said to the young gazelle, 'Arise, by God's grace. Go in peace.' The creature then arose and departed. Jesus said to the man, 'I ask you by Him who made you see that miracle, who stole the bread?' The man said, 'I do not know.' They came afterwards to a river full of water, and Jesus, taking the man by the hand, both walked on the water, and when they came to the other side, Jesus said to him, 'I ask you by Him who made you see this miracle, who stole the bread?' The man said, 'I do not know.' They came afterwards to a lonely spot, and when both had sat down Jesus

made a pile of dust heaped with sand, to which He said, 'Become gold, by God's grace, let His name be exalted,' and it became gold. Jesus divided it into three parts, and said to the man, 'One for me, one for thee, and one for the man who stole the bread.' The man said, 'I am the man who stole the bread.'

The story goes on to relate how the man who stole the bread came to a bad end, upon which Jesus remarked to His disciples, 'This is the world, beware of it.'

Our last story is a delightful little picture of the Boy Jesus culled from Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Old Creeds and New Needs*.

155. When He was but a little boy, Isa, the Son of Mary, wandered with His mother through the bazaar at Nazareth. Suddenly His eyes lighted on a beautiful little water-clock exposed for sale. 'Oh, mother,' He cried, 'I would like to buy that little clock for uncle.' 'We have not the money for it, Isa.' 'Oh, but let me try.' The boy entered the shop, and confronted the seated trader. 'So much? I have not so much money. Will you let me have it for love?' 'Love, my son, what is that?' Isa went round to the trader and nestled His soft cheek and His golden curls against the man's face. 'See, I

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will help you. I will tidy up your shop. I will bring you water for your hands and feet—Oh, lots of things.’ ‘Well, son, let us see.’ Deftly and quickly the service was rendered. The trader, amused and touched, in spite of himself, said, ‘So far, so good, but you must come and do it again.’ ‘Oh, yes! to-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow——’

The pitcher must come at length to the well ; the ship come to port, the journey close, as one reaches the city ; and the book come to its final paragraph. We have wandered pleasantly over a wide field, peered eagerly into the minds of the ancients, Eastern and Western, have stirred the thick dust on the bulky literature of other days, and have discussed many things by the way. We have discoursed on truth and falsehood, humour and tragedy, hope and fear—we trust not altogether in vain. Those who have spoken to us have all been men of like fashion with ourselves ; and if they are gone to their reward, their Master lives on in the hearts and minds of those who follow in their train, changelessly and tirelessly, even to the end of the world. We have tried to catch the last echoes of His voice, and are assured that even as He Himself said, as we seek, ‘we shall find.’

It is said by the Rabbis that when the Queen of Sheba visited Solomon she held out at a distance from him two wreaths—one of artificial and the other of genuine flowers. Unable to discover which was the real one, the king ordered the casement to be opened, when lo ! a flight of bees entered the room and lighted on the natural flowers. There are blooms of both kinds in this volume—undying words of the One who spake as never man spake, and imitations of His words foisted upon us by deceivers and deceived. By making a list of these sayings I hope that, as I bring them to the light of day and fling open the casement, the bees of criticism will alight upon the genuine, and warn us to avoid the counterfeit flowers. My last words shall be these—they provide us, at once, with a warning and a charge : ‘ Be ye tried bankers,’ and the reward will be yours.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

ON THE DEVIL HAVING COCK'S FEET

AN Arabian story is told of Solomon, who is supposed by the Moslems to have been an adept at necromancy. His adventures with Aschmedai, the prince of devils, are numerous; and they both, king and devil, served one another many a slippery trick. Aschmedai, who was a prisoner to Solomon, the king having contrived to possess himself of the devil's seal ring, and chained him, one day offered to answer an unholy question put to him by Solomon provided he returned him his seal ring and loosened his chain. The curiosity of the king made him commit this folly. Instantly the devil swallowed the monarch, and he spat out Solomon four hundred leagues from him. The devil then assumed the appearance of the king and reigned in his stead. From that hour Solomon did say, 'This, then, is the reward of all my labour' (according to Eccles. i. 3), 'this means, one Rabbin says, his walking-staff, and another his ragged coat.' Solomon went begging from door to door saying, 'I, the Preacher, was King over Israel in Jerusalem.' This coming to the ears of the high council they said, 'This means something; a fool is not consistent in his tale.' They found out then that the pseudo-monarch had cock's feet, and the king was restored to his throne. The idea seems to have been general in the East that devils had cock's feet, the hoof tradition possibly being mediaeval and Western.

APPENDIX B

ON ANTI-CHRIST

A VERY curious Anti-Christ superstition is connected with Lydda in Palestine. This town is the fountain-head of the St. George and the dragon myth, which lies at the base of the superstition. It seems to have arisen somewhat as follows: Not far away from the city (Arsuf or Joppa) was the traditional site of the struggle of Perseus with the sea monster, when he rescued Andromeda. Now in Lydda the Christian Saint and Martyr George had his home. The former myth was then transferred to St. George; this illustrates the methods of the Early Church. This was perhaps largely due to the coincidence of the martyr's rise to fame with the triumph of Christianity over Paganism. The symbolism is truly fitting here. But the process did not cease here, for misconceptions arose later as to the meaning of an ancient bas-relief of St. George and the dragon in Lydda church. It is usual for the Moslems to identify St. George with El Khrudr, the forerunner of the Messiah; but at Lydda, led astray by a wrong construction put on the bas-relief, they identify him with Christ Himself. The figures, they thought, represented the struggle between Christ and Anti-Christ. They say that Christ will slay Dajjal (Anti-Christ) by the gate of Lydda. An interesting suggestion has been made by modern scholars, who see in the name Dajjal a corruption of Dagon, and it is noteworthy that one of the gates of Lydda used to be called the gate of Dagon. 'If the derivation be correct, then it is indeed a curious process by which the monster, symbolic of heathenism conquered by Christianity, has been evolved out of the first great rival of the God of Israel' (G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*). In the *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, H. E. Hanauer tells us that according to current Moslem eschatology the Bab el Khalil—i.e. the Jaffa Gate at Jerusalem—will be the

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Gate of Lydda, where 'Isa ibn Maryam will destroy Anti Christ.' Another account places the exact scene of the encounter at a well inside a small domed building situated about half-way between Lydda and Ramleh, and called by them 'Bir es Zaybak,' or 'Quicksilver Well.'

APPENDIX C

AN ADDITION TO THE INFANCY GOSPELS

WE give here a fragment from the Armenian Gospel of the Infancy, since the passage is not procurable in English. The ultimate source seems to be the Syriac 'Book of Rolls,' otherwise known as the 'Cave of Treasures.' After describing the coming of the Wise Men to Herod, and the delivering of their message, the Armenian MS. interpolates into the Infancy story this section :

'When he heard that, Herod was staggered, and he was afraid of what they had said. He said to them, "From whom have you heard what you say? Who has told you?" The Magi answered, "We have received from our ancestors the written testimony which has been kept sealed for long years. From generation to generation our fathers and their children's children have lived in expectation of it, until the word should come to make it come to pass. It has, then, by the order of God, been manifested in a vision through a ministering angel, and we come to this place which the Lord has shown to us." Herod said, "From where have you this witness, known to yourselves?" The Magi said, "The witness which we possess comes neither from man, nor from anybody. It is a divine command concerning a plan which the Lord has promised to accomplish in favour of the children of men ; a command which has been kept by us until this day." Herod said, "Where is this book which only your people possess, unknown to any one else?" The Magi said, "No other people know it, either by hearsay or by their own knowledge.

Only our people possess the written testimony; for when Adam had left Paradise, and Cain had killed Abel, the Lord God gave to Adam, Seth, the child of comfort, and with him this written letter, closed and sealed by the finger of God. Seth received it from his father, and gave it to his sons. Their sons (gave it) to their sons, from generation to generation. And as far as Noah, who transmitted the command to preserve the letter with care. Noah gave it to Shem; his son and the sons (of Shem gave it) to their sons. Afterwards they who had received it gave it to Abraham. Abraham gave it to the high-priest Melchisedec, and in that way our people (received it) down to the time of Cyrus, king of Persia. And our fathers, on receiving it, placed it in great honour in a room. At last the letter came to us, and we, having received the writing, have been made aware of the arrival of the new monarch, the son of the King of Israel.”

For the sake of completeness, as showing the source of the above tradition, we will transcribe a paragraph from the Syriac ‘Book of Rolls’:

‘Seth took the scroll in which he wrote the testimony of his father Adam into the Cave of Treasures along with the offerings which Adam had carried with him from the Land of Paradise, that is to say, gold, myrrh, and incense (about) which Adam taught Seth and his children that they should belong to three Magian Kings, and that they should travel with these things to the Saviour of the world, to be born in a city called Bethlehem, a territory of Judah.’

APPENDIX D

PAPIAS AND THE BOOK OF TESTIMONIES

PAPIAS has been the most misunderstood, perhaps, of all the Fathers. The work he quoted, Rendel Harris, Burkitt,

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and Selwyn maintain, was not 'Oracles of the Lord,' i.e. 'Sayings of Jesus,' but 'Oracles Concerning the Lord,' i.e. 'Old Testament Testimonies concerning Him.' As we have remarked in the text, what Papias commented on was the ancient Book of Testimonies. This work probably came from the pen of Levi Matthew. Rendel Harris, with reason, thinks the Book of Enoch was one of the works cited in this collection. If so, it is possible that Papias merely quoted the saying about the Millennium as a testimony, and not as a saying of Jesus. We must leave our readers to judge.

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